

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.

BATES HALL.

NOT TO BE TAKEN AWAY.

No. 111-10-1000

Z 881

B75 B84

Z 881  
• B75 B84

~~CEN. REF.~~

★ No Z 881. B75 B84

v. II

1959

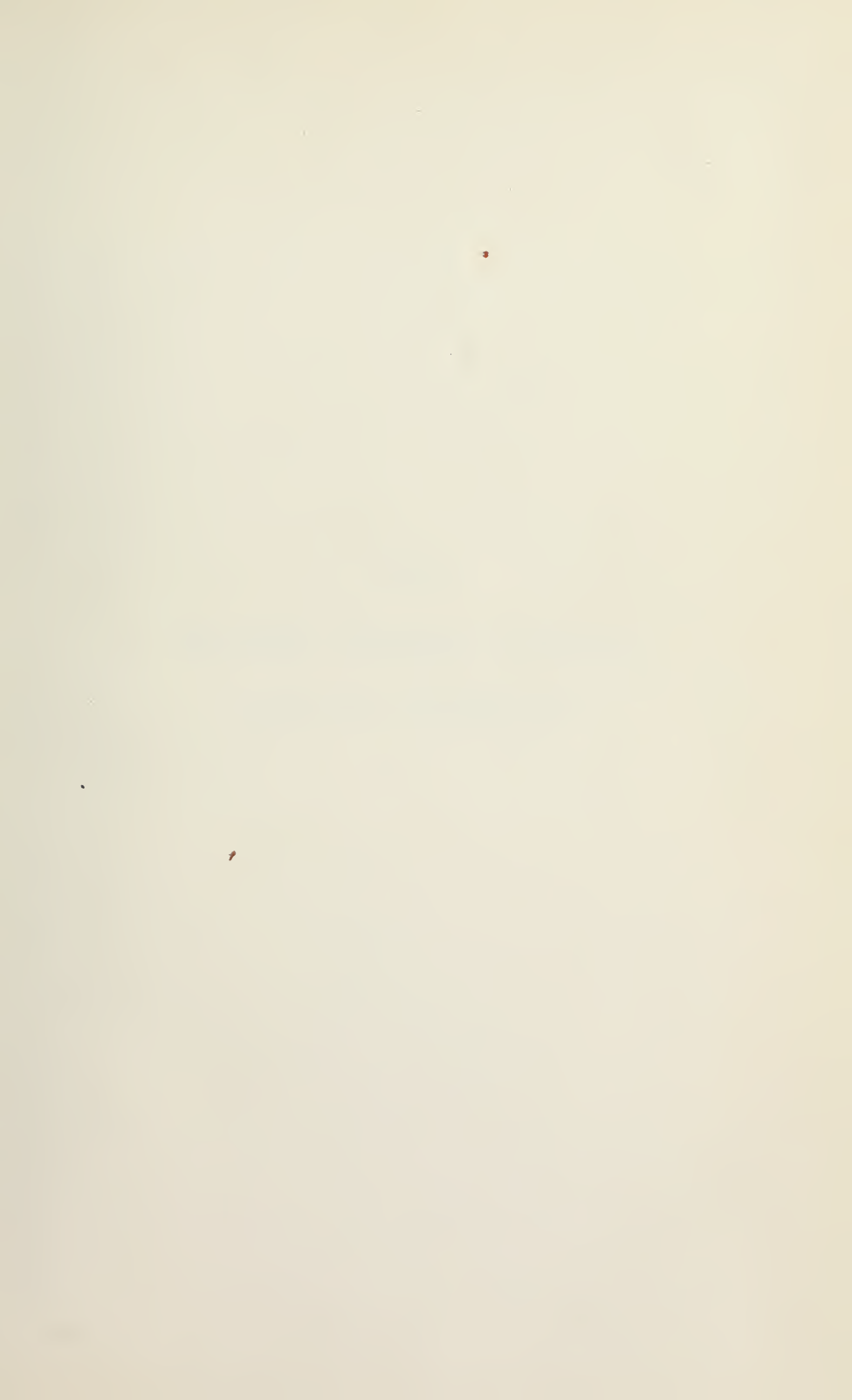
Copy 6













Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2016 with funding from  
Boston Public Library

THE  
Boston Public Library  
QUARTERLY

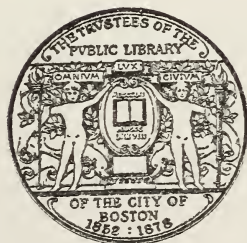


THE  
Boston Public Library  
QUARTERLY

VOLUME XI

1959

Z 881  
.B75 B24



PUBLISHED BY THE TRUSTEES  
Boston, Massachusetts





Z 881

.B75 B84

\*Z 881

.B75 B84

Copy 6

v. 11

1953

General Reference Dept.

Cont.

\*Z 881 .B75 B84

Boston Public Library  
April 28-1960

# Table of Contents

Articles	Page
A BOOK RETURNS TO BOSTON	149
ANTHONY, SUSAN B., FOR THE WORKING WOMAN	33
BIBLIA PAUPERUM, TWO COPIES OF THE	3
BURNS, THE GLORIOUS SINNER	193
DICKENS EXHIBIT IN THE TREASURE ROOM, A	147
DORÉ, GUSTAVE, "LA MYTHOLOGIE" OF	200
EYB, ALBRECHT VON, ON MARRIAGE	143
FRIEDMAN, THE LEE M., PRINT COLLECTION	44
GREENOUGH, HORATIO, LETTERS BY, IN THE LIBRARY	75
INDEX, <i>The Boston Public Library Quarterly</i> , VOLS I-X, 1948-58	151
LA MER DES HISTOIRES, PARIS, 1488	59
MACKINSTRY, THE DRAWINGS OF ELIZABETH	102
MEAT OUT OF THE EATER	179
MERRILL, HIRAM C., 1866-1958	217
PRESCOTT, WILLIAM H., THE LETTERS AND MANUSCRIPTS OF	115
THOREAU'S FAME ABROAD	94
WEST INDIES, THE HUNT COLLECTION ON THE	21, 131, 210

## Notes on Rare Books and Manuscripts

AUTHOR AND THE ILLUSTRATOR, THE	223
BOLOGNA, THE PATRON SAINT OF	110
BOSTON, THE PORT OF	221
BROWNING EXHIBIT IN THE TREASURE ROOM, A	50
BUNKER HILL, THE BATTLE OF	107
POE'S BIRTH, THE 150TH ANNIVERSARY OF	108
<i>Romancero General</i> OF 1602, THE	54
ST. PATRICK, THE BREASTPLATE OF	52

## Illustrations

DAVID AND GOLIATH, THE HARROWING OF HELL, AND SAMSON AND THE LION	11
DORÉ, GUSTAVE, "LE TEMPS," A DRAWING BY	203
GAÜGAIN, "JOIES DE BRETAGNE," A LITHOGRAPH BY	45
GREENOUGH, HORATIO, STATUE OF GEORGE WASHINGTON	83
LA MER DES HISTOIRES, PARIS 1488, FROM THE TITLE PAGE OF	65
MACKINSTRY, ELIZABETH, "A HIGHWAYMAN COMES RIDING," A DRAWING BY	103
MERRILL, H. C. "BAILEY'S BARN," AN ENGRAVING BY	219
OEXMELIN, "HISTOIRE DES AVENTURIERS," ENGRAVING FROM	135
PRESCOTT, WILLIAM H., JOHN SARTAIN'S ENGRAVING FROM A PHOTOGRAPH	121
WIGGLESWORTH, <i>Meat out of the Eater</i> , TITLE-PAGE OF	183

THE  
Boston Public Library  
QUARTERLY

Volume 11, Number 1

## Contents

	<i>Page</i>
TWO COPIES OF THE <i>Biblia Pauperum</i> <i>By Edith A. Wright</i>	3
THE HUNT COLLECTION ON THE WEST INDIES <i>By Ellen M. Oldham</i>	21
SUSAN B. ANTHONY FOR THE WORKING WOMAN <i>By Alma Lutz</i>	33
THE LEE M. FRIEDMAN PRINT COLLECTION <i>By Arthur W. Heintzelman</i>	44
NOTES ON RARE BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS	
A BROWNING EXHIBIT IN THE TREASURE ROOM	50
THE BREASTPLATE OF ST. PATRICK <i>By Richard G. Appel</i>	52
THE <i>Romancero General</i> OF 1602 <i>By Frederick E. Danker</i>	54
ILLUSTRATIONS AND FACSIMILES	

\*\*  
\*

EDITOR: ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

*The Boston Public Library Quarterly* is published for January, April, July, and October by the Trustees of the Public Library of the City of Boston in Copley Square, Boston 17. Second-Class mail privileges authorized at Boston, Massachusetts. Printed for the Boston Public Library, December 1958.

*Single Copies, 50 cents*  
*Annual Subscription, \$2.00*



# THE Boston Public Library QUARTERLY

JANUARY 1959

## Two Copies of the *Biblia Pauperum*

An Italian Manuscript and a Dutch Wood-Block Edition  
in the Boston Public Library

By EDITH A. WRIGHT

THE medieval picture-book known as the *Biblia Pauperum* or "Poor Man's Bible" was a popular work for over a hundred years, and is today among the most highly-prized possessions of great libraries. It is one of the most characteristic of medieval productions, deeply rooted in religious thought and traditions which had their inception in the very beginnings of Christianity and came to full flowering in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This rare work is represented in the Boston Public Library by two examples — an Italian manuscript, which though only a fragment is of extraordinary interest, and a Dutch wood-block edition lacking thirteen leaves.

The kernel of the book, constant in all the forms, is a series of scenes from the New Testament, each of which is accompanied by two Old Testament pictures (presented as prototypes of the Gospel events and identified by brief explanations) and by four prophetic utterances, with portraits of the prophets themselves. The extant manuscripts and editions bear no title, although it has been reported that a now lost fourteenth-century copy began with the words: "Incipit *Biblia Pauperum*."<sup>1</sup>

A similar heading in a fifteenth-century copy is ascribed to a later hand.<sup>2</sup> In the next century, a French edition was called *Regard des Deux Testaments* ("Comparison of the Two Testaments") and an Italian edition, *Opera Nova Contemplativa* ("New Work of Contemplation"). It was not until two hundred years later that the title *Biblia Pauperum* came into general use, although the name had been given to a book attributed to St. Bonaventura (1221-74) and to two fifteenth-century summaries of Biblical stories.<sup>3</sup> Various other names have been suggested, but the title has become so firmly attached to the work that today there can be no real question of changing it.

As the words "Biblia Pauperum" indicate, the work served as a substitute for the complete Bible, the cost of which, before the invention of printing from movable types, made its possession possible only for religious institutions or the very wealthy. The kind of public for which it was intended has been much debated. Some writers believe that it was composed for poor preachers, to supply them with material for sermons.<sup>4</sup> They point out that many of the manuscripts originated in Benedictine monasteries, and that the monks and friars often referred to themselves as "pauperes."<sup>5</sup> It is also argued that few of the laity could read Latin, the language of the text in most copies; and that some of the manuscripts are too luxurious to have been within the reach of the common man. Moreover, two similar works, the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* and the *Concordantia Caritatis*, explicitly state that they are designed to help poor clerics.<sup>6</sup>

On the other hand, teaching religion to the layman by means of pictures was an established policy of the medieval church. Pope Gregory the Great (d. 604) wrote that paintings should be exhibited in churches, so that those who were illiterate might read on the walls what they could not read in books.<sup>7</sup> One remembers the prayer Villon wrote for his mother:

Femme je suis povrette et ancienne,  
 Qui riens ne sçay ; oncques lettre ne leus.  
 Au moustier voy dont suis paroissienne  
 Paradis paint, ou sont harpes et lus,  
 Et ung enfer ou dampnez sont boullus :  
 L'ung me fait paour, l'autre joye et liesse.

or in Dante Gabriel Rossetti's translation :

A pitiful poor woman, shrunk and old,  
I am, and nothing learned in letter-lore.  
Within my parish-cloister I behold  
A painted Heaven where harps and lutes adore.  
And eke an Hell whose damned folke see the full sore.  
One bringeth fear, the other joy to me.

Stained-glass windows served a similar function, as did the dramatization of Biblical scenes in liturgical plays. The fact that the text of the *Biblia Pauperum* is usually in Latin does not prove that it was not produced for the use of the laity, as church art frequently displayed Latin tags and the early plays of the Church were also in that language. The answer probably is that the book was not designed exclusively for either group, but, as the author of another block-book, the *Ars Moriendi* ("The Art of Dying") states, it was created in the hope that it might be useful to all — the text to the educated reader and the pictures to both layman and clerk.<sup>8</sup>

It is not known who first put together the *Biblia Pauperum* in book-form, or what his nationality was, and it is unlikely that it ever will be. Actually, the author's role was limited; the work was a product of long growth, attaining its final shape in the twelfth or thirteenth century. But, although one cannot name the author, a twelfth-century Latin manuscript by an anonymous writer so clearly expresses the spirit behind the book that one might easily imagine that the compiler himself was speaking.<sup>9</sup> He was concerned with frescoes, but his words are worth quoting for what they reveal of the origins of the *Biblia Pauperum*. The following extract is translated from the French version by Léopold Delisle, who does not give the original text:

Desolated to see in the sanctuary of God inept paintings, which are rather monstrosities than ornaments, I have tried to show how the spirit and the eyes of the faithful might be more usefully turned toward more suitable objects. Our time loves paintings too much to allow them to be banished from cathedrals and parochial churches, and no one can object to their serving as books for the laity; simple folk may take from them some idea of the divine mysteries, and educated people a taste for the Holy Scriptures.

The writer then castigates such subjects of church art as two-headed eagles, centaurs, scenes from the romance of Renard the Fox, and similar "shameful nonsense," created by the disordered imagination of the artist and tolerated by ecclesiastical authority, and continues :

It is to restrain the license of the painters and to guide them in the decoration of churches . . . that a series of distichs has been composed, indicating briefly the subject of the Old Testament scenes and the allegorical concordance of these subjects with different details of the New Testament. Such inscriptions will not be necessary for the Gospel scenes, which are familiar to all the faithful; on such pictures it will suffice to inscribe the names of the personages.

THE material for such an undertaking lay close at hand, and required no effort of originality. Typology, or the interpretation of the Old Testament stories as prefigurations of Gospel events, had already had a long history. A medieval verse, derived from a statement of St. Augustine, gives the idea :

Novum Testamentum in vetere latet  
Vetus in novo patet.

("The New Testament is latent in the Old, and the Old Testament is made visible in the New.") This concept goes back to the New Testament itself. Jesus said: "Think not that I am come to destroy the law, or the prophets; I am not come to destroy, but to fulfill" (Matthew V, 17). He compared Himself to Moses lifting up the serpent in the wilderness (John III, 14) and to Jonah, three days and three nights in the belly of the whale (Matthew XII, 40), parallels which are taken over in the *Biblia Pauperum*. And again: "All things must be fulfilled, which were written in the law of Moses, and in the prophets, and in the Psalms, concerning me" (Luke XXIV, 44). Old Testament prophecies are quoted many times in the Gospels, and comparisons drawn with Adam, Noah, Melchizedek, David, and the falling of manna from Heaven, all figures which appear later in the *Biblia Pauperum*. These parallels were adopted and diligently added to by theologians, beginning with the Church Fathers, and were especially popular in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.<sup>10</sup>



Artistic form was given to typological ideas at an early date. In second-century paintings in the catacombs Old Testament figures were used as symbols of New Testament events, for example, the three youths in the fiery furnace, Daniel in the lions' den, and the sacrifice of Isaac (all found in the *Biblia Pauperum*). In 684, according to the Venerable Bede, the abbot Benedict Biscop brought back from Rome to England pictures showing the harmony between the two Testaments, and used them as models for the decoration of his church and monastery at Jarrow.<sup>11</sup> Bede specifically mentions Isaac carrying the wood for his immolation, in juxtaposition to Christ carrying His cross; and Moses raising up the serpent in the wilderness, compared with Christ raised up on the cross.

Beginning with the twelfth century, church ornaments, frescoes, and stained glass display the characteristic contents and arrangement of materials of the *Biblia Pauperum*. About 1140 the abbey of St. Denis, near Paris, owned a great cross whose enameled base showed "the history of the Saviour with testimonies from the old law."<sup>12</sup> Shortly after this date is found the earliest known appearance of this subject-matter between the covers of a book in a Hildesheim missal of about 1150, which contains fourteen groups, accompanied by prophecies. Half of the groups and some of the prophecies occur later in the *Biblia Pauperum*.<sup>13</sup> The same century produced the now-vanished frescoes of the cathedral of Peterborough in England.<sup>14</sup>

In 1181, with the enameled *antependium* (altar-ornament) from Klosterneuburg, the pattern of the *Biblia Pauperum* is virtually complete. Here is a series of fifteen pictures from Christ's life, each with two Old Testament prototypes, accompanied by pictures of prophets with their sayings and by leonine hexameters, such as are found in the block-books.<sup>15</sup> In both cases the Annunciation comes first.

After this time the *Biblia Pauperum* appears in essentially the form it has in the xylographic editions. In the fourteenth century a painted *Biblia Pauperum* was represented in the frescoes of the Emmaus convent in Prague and in the windows of the monastery of St. Albans in England.<sup>16</sup> The Frauenkirche of Ravensberg in Bavaria had twelve panes dating from 1415, showing the history of the Virgin and Child up to the presenta-



tion in the Temple.<sup>17</sup> Old Testament parallels were lacking, but the prophets were there as well as three of the verses found in the wood-block *Biblia Pauperum*.

Since some of the works referred to antedate the earliest known manuscripts, it seems probable that the miniaturists imitated them. After the block-book came into existence, there was a reverse influence of the book on works of art. According to Emile Mâle, the *Biblia Pauperum*, and to a lesser extent the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, were veritable manuals for designers of tapestries, ivories, and enameled work.<sup>18</sup> He cites numerous works of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which are almost exact copies of the wood-cuts. The sculptors of the period were also influenced, though not so much, and one finds a *Biblia Pauperum* in glass at the monastery of Hirsau in the sixteenth century.<sup>19</sup>

HAVING traced the history of the *Biblia Pauperum*, it is time to turn now to its appearance in book-form. More than forty manuscripts are known. W. L. Schreiber described thirty-three of these, reproducing a page from each, in his introduction to a facsimile edition of the work. Five more were added by Hans von der Gabelentz, in his edition of a facsimile of the Weimar manuscript.<sup>20</sup> Since then several more have been reported.

Of the manuscripts described by Gabelentz, six have the text in German, one in Latin and German, and the rest in Latin. The Morgan Library possesses one in Flemish verse; and the New York Public Library manuscript, in addition to the Latin text, has short explanations in Italian. One manuscript on the list is possibly of French origin, one possibly Bohemian; all the others are from Germany and Holland. They range in date from the beginning of the fourteenth century to 1518 (this last is a copy of the wood-block edition of 1470). However, Mâle refers to one from the middle of the thirteenth century, and the convent of Tegernsee in Bavaria is supposed to have had one in 1180.<sup>21</sup> Disregarding fragments, they comprise from thirty-two to forty-eight scenes, the later ones having the larger number.

The manuscript recently acquired by the Boston Public Library has not, to the writer's knowledge, previously been described. It is a particularly interesting copy, since only one other manuscript and only one late wood-block edition from Italy are known. The other manuscript, which is in the New York Public Library, is dated approximately 1470, whereas the one in the Boston Public Library belongs to the early part of the century. It is thought to be from Verona, that is, from a part of Italy not too remote from south-eastern Germany and Austria, where the work principally flourished. The pages measure approximately  $6\frac{3}{4}$  by  $4\frac{3}{4}$  inches and are illustrated with ink drawings, many of them colored. The small Gothic writing is effaced in places, and the corners of some leaves are torn.

Each page is divided horizontally in three parts. Further, the two upper portions are divided vertically in two and the lower one in three sections. The bottom third displays a scene from the New Testament; the middle part contains two parallel scenes from the Old Testament; and at the top are Latin passages explaining what the latter represent and how they prefigure the Gospel event. Each begins "*Legitur . . .*", and then cites the Biblical source. In addition, there are pictures of two prophets in the lower corners and two in the middle of the top portions, bearing scrolls with appropriate prophecies.

The scenes are the following:

1. The Annunciation; temptation of Adam and Eve; Gideon's fleece.

2. The Nativity; Moses and the burning bush; Aaron's rod.

3. The adoration of the Magi; Abner offers David the kingdom; the Queen of Sheba visits Solomon.

4. The presentation in the Temple; the purification of a Jewish woman after the birth of her first-born; the infant Samuel is brought by his mother to Eli.

5. The slaughter of the Innocents; Saul kills the priests who had aided the fugitive David; the killing of the king's sons by Athaliah.

6. The return of the Holy family from Egypt; David is brought back to rule after Saul's death; Jacob returns to his own land.

7. The baptism of Christ; Naaman cleanses himself in the River Jordan; Judith bathing before going to kill Holofernes.

8. The temptation of Jesus by the Devil; Esau sells his birth-right for a mess of pottage; Adam and Eve.

9. The resurrection of Lazarus; Elijah and Elisha each bring back to life the son of a widow.

10. The transfiguration of Jesus, accompanied by Moses and Elijah; the apparition of the three angels to Abraham; the three boys in the fiery furnace.

11. Mary Magdalene at Jesus' feet; David is brought to repentance by Nathan's chiding; Moses and Aaron heal their sister Miriam of leprosy.

12. Christ's entrance into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday; David with the head of Goliath; Elisha is honored by the prophets' children.

13. Judas receives money from the chief priests; Joseph is sold into captivity by his brothers; Absalom conspires against his father David.

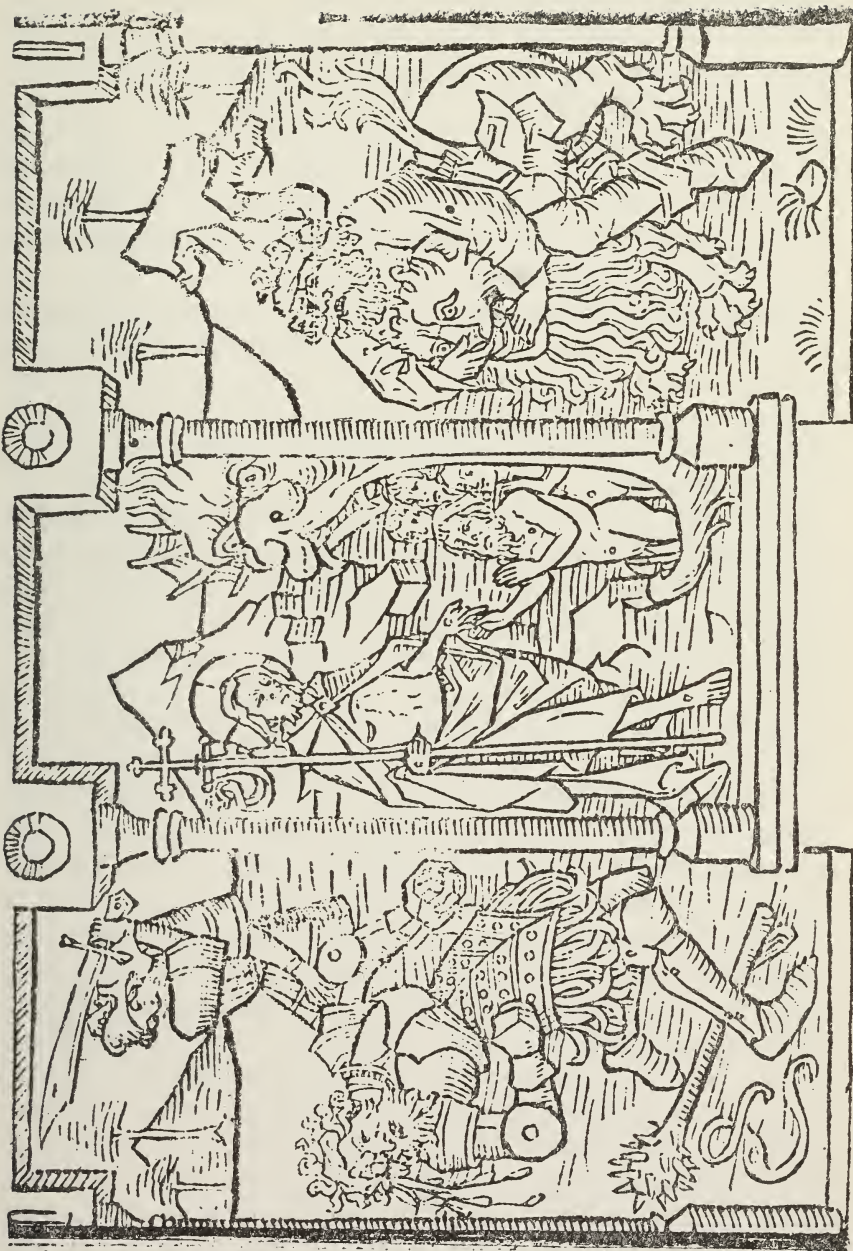
14. The Last Supper; Melchizedek offers Abraham bread and wine; manna falls from heaven.

15. Jesus preaching to the Jews; Micah and Ahab; the king of Samaria sends men to kill Elisha.

16. Christ in the Garden of Olives with the prostrate soldiers; the angel of the Lord smites the Assyrians; Elisha with the soldiers of the Syrian king.

Here the manuscript breaks off; the missing part no doubt continued the story at least to the Resurrection of Christ.

ALL the forms of the *Biblia Pauperum* agree closely in content and text, although the later editions have additional scenes. The Library's manuscript is no exception; save for a few variations it is identical (in the part that has been preserved) with the wood-block edition of forty leaves. The fragment, however, omits four scenes of the New Testament found regularly in other versions: the flight of the Holy Family into Egypt; the destruction of the Egyptian idols; the driving of the money-changers from the Temple; and a second scene of Judas with the high priests. Whether the manuscript goes back to an earlier, shorter form of the *Biblia Pauperum*, or whether the omissions were intentional, is difficult to determine. As to the Old Testament parallels, the manuscript has Naaman and Judith as prototypes of the baptism of Christ, whereas most versions present the passage of the Red Sea and the spies returning



*David and Goliath; The Harrowing of Hell, and Samson and the Lion*  
(Reduced)



from the Promised Land bearing a cluster of grapes. But the Naaman scene occurs in this connection in the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* and also in a fresco of the Emmaus convent in Prague, both dating from the fourteenth century. The manuscript at Wolfenbüttel, from the following century, has the two usual scenes as well as the one of Naaman. The other chief variation is in the Old Testament prefigurations of Christ in the Garden of Olives, where one finds usually the foolish Virgins and the fall of Satan.

The explanatory texts and prophecies, too, agree in general with those in the block-books, although many minor differences occur in the various versions. In some cases the text of the Library's manuscript has been shortened because of lack of space; in one or two instances, however, it adds a few lines to the usual passage.

The lay-out of the pages is simple, with single or double lines dividing the compartments. In accordance with tradition, Jesus is shown wearing a blue or violet robe and Mary's cape is also blue, that being the color of Heaven. The first four pages are completely colored; three have no coloring, and the rest show only touches of paint. For example, the picture of the Slaughter of the Innocents has a few bits of red and brown; in the illustration of David with the head of Goliath, the sword and head are marked with red, and two of the girls welcoming the hero's return have green dresses with red sleeves. The artist never finished his work; but then, few fully colored manuscripts of the *Biblia Pauperum* are known.

The drawing of the figures is rather crude, and only the simplest indications of background are given, or at times none at all. In a few scenes, medieval towers are shown. The placing of the figures, as in the Gideon picture and the one of Moses and the burning bush, resembles that found in the block-books. Some of the drawings correspond to the late Gothic type, described by Gabelentz.<sup>22</sup> Thus in the Annunciation Mary is shown at a prayer-stool, with the angel kneeling in front of her instead of standing or walking toward her as in earlier manuscripts; and in the Nativity she is kneeling in prayer before the naked Child who lies on the ground, whereas in earlier manuscripts she is reclining while the Child is lying in the manger.



In most of the early manuscripts, up through the fourteenth century, the pictures are framed by circles. The usual arrangement is a medallion enclosing the New Testament scene with four smaller circles for the prophets. The Old Testament figures, considerably larger, are at the sides. Later manuscripts divide the page with straight lines, as does the one in the Boston Public Library, and as a rule put the New Testament scenes at the bottom. The drawings show much less uniformity than the text, and Schreiber suggests that the latter was probably transmitted from one monastery to another with only a verbal description of the pictures.

THE next stage in the development of the *Biblia Pauperum* was the block-book. The Library's copy is thought to have been printed in the Netherlands about 1460 and seems to be the earliest edition, although the unique copy now at Heidelberg, with thirty-four illustrations and a manuscript text, probably preceded it.<sup>23</sup> The Library's copy is a folio volume, measuring 12¼ by 8½ inches, bound in red leather. The pages as usual are printed on one side only, in a pale sepia, with the two printed sides facing each other. There are twenty-seven leaves; the first four and the last nine of the original forty are lacking. The volume was acquired in 1949 at the sale of the library of Fritz Kreisler, the famous violinist. Once it belonged to the British Museum, which in 1859 published a facsimile edition.

(It was a good purchase. The Library paid, from the income of the Benton fund, \$2,700 for the volume. It is interesting to note that at the Dyson Perrins Sale, held in London on December 9, 1958, a copy of the same edition containing 37 leaves—but closely cropped and in altogether inferior condition—was sold to a Paris dealer for nearly nine times the sum, \$22,960.)

The forty-leaf block-book contains the same scenes and in the same order as the Library's manuscript, with the addition of the four scenes mentioned earlier (namely, the flight into Egypt, the destruction of the idols, the driving out of the money-changers, and the additional Judas scene). It then continues as follows: Judas betraying Christ with a kiss; Pilate washing his hands; the crown of thorns; Christ bearing the

cross; the Crucifixion; Longinus; the entombment; the Harrowing of Hell; the Resurrection; the three Maries; and the appearance of the risen Christ to Mary Magdalene. The Library's copy stops at this point; the missing scenes include Christ's appearance to His disciples; the incredulity of Thomas; the Ascension; Pentecost; the coronation of the Virgin; the Last Judgment; devils carrying off the souls of the damned; Christ with the souls of the blessed; and Christ bestowing the crown of eternal life on a righteous soul.

A Latin verse accompanies each scene. The present writer has not been able to find any discussion of their authorship, except for a statement by Joseph Guibert in his article on the origins of the *Biblia Pauperum* in the *Revue des Bibliothèques* XV (1905), 313, that two of the verses come from the *Aurora* of Pierre Riga, composed about 1175. Latin verses were found in connection with many of the forerunners of the *Biblia Pauperum*, but they are different in each copy.

The arrangement of the page is roughly the same in the block-book as in the manuscript, except that here the New Testament scene is placed between the two prototypes; and the lower pair of prophets are in the center of the leaf, like the upper pair, instead of in the corners. Also, the various sections are framed by columns and arches instead of by simple lines.

The drawing in the block-book, while naive, is more skillful than that in the manuscript. There is more indication of background and the people stand on solid earth. One cannot look for deep spirituality, but there is an amusing quaintness in such cuts as that of Jonah standing up in the jaws of the whale about to be ejected, or that of Samson sitting on a lion's back and forcing its teeth apart. Eduard Bodemann believed that the cuts might have been made by Jan van Eyck or an artist of his school.<sup>24</sup>

Although the *Biblia Pauperum* is based chiefly on the Bible, elements of legend have crept in. The destruction of the Egyptian idols is taken from the apocryphal Gospel of pseudo-Matthew, which was influenced in turn by Isaiah XIX, 1: "Behold, the Lord . . . shall come into Egypt, and the idols of Egypt shall be moved at his presence." Again, the serpent in the second Temptation scene has the face of a woman, a reflection of

the Jewish legend of Lilith, and it stands on the point of its tail because snakes were supposed to have walked erect before the Fall. Moses is shown with horns, in accordance with medieval tradition. The Vulgate says that when Moses descended from Mount Sinai "ignorabat quod cornuta esset facies sua" ("He did not know that he had horns on his head"), Exodus XXXIV, 29; whereas the Hebrew text is now interpreted "the skin of his face shone." Other representations of Moses with horns may be seen in the Library in an Italian picture Bible of the fourteenth century and in such works as the Nuremberg Bible of 1483 and Luther's Bible of 1551. The famous statue of Moses by Michelangelo in the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli in Rome conforms to this old tradition. Here the horns add a touch of strangeness, heightening the power and majesty of the heroic figure.

There were at least three other wood-block editions of the *Biblia Pauperum* in the fifteenth century, one with Latin and two with German text. The latest xylographic edition was the Italian one, published in Venice in 1510 or later. It was based on the forty-leaf Latin edition, but omitted the prophets and put each of the three scenes on a separate page. The other editions all have forty leaves, except for one fifty-leaf edition (known in a single copy) with Latin text, beginning with the betrothal and birth of the Virgin.

The earliest edition printed from movable types was published at Bamberg by Albrecht Pfister about 1462, with German text and containing thirty-four scenes, like many of the manuscripts. Not long after, Pfister published a Latin edition and a second German one. An edition was also printed at Augsburg in 1476 and another in Paris by Antoine Vérard in 1503. A Book of Hours published at Lyons in 1489 had fifty marginal illustrations taken from the *Biblia Pauperum*.

After some three centuries the popularity of the *Biblia Pauperum* waned, and after the early years of the sixteenth century no new editions were produced. The Renaissance, the Reformation, and the spread of printing and of general education were all against it. The fact that in its day it was a comparatively inexpensive book and one which received hard use explains why so few copies have been preserved.

THE Library also owns two handsome leaves from another block-book, the *Apocalypse of St. John*. They measure 11 by 8¼ inches and are printed on one side only, each having two pictures. In the upper half of the first, two angels announce the City of God (Revelation XII, 10). The lower cut shows the casting out of the dragon ((Revelation XII, 9); two angels are fighting the animal. One, flying above, pierces its back with a spear, while the other stands in front of it in full armor with shield and drawn sword; a third angel stands on the right, holding the limp body of the slain beast.

The second leaf has in the upper half an illustration of the Son of Man and the ripe harvest (Revelation XIV, 14). At the top of the picture is Christ holding a sickle; below on the left St. John stands, a long staff in his hand; in the center is a row of grain, and an angel cutting it; on the right another angel is coming out of a temple. The lower half of the leaf shows the wine press of the wrath of God (Revelation XIV, 17-20). An angel leaving the temple holds a sickle; in the center is an altar with a chalice; to the right, another angel holding a grape-vine. In the press three little devils are trampling the grapes. A river of blood runs out at the bottom, just below the noses of two horses. The pages are colored in soft tones which add to the beauty of the whole.

The artistic history of the Book of Revelation more or less parallels that of the Gospel and its Old Testament prototypes. In early Christian art one finds isolated symbols from the Apocalypse — for example, the four beasts which symbolize the Apostles, the lamb, or the book sealed with seven seals.<sup>25</sup> The good abbot Benedict Biscop, mentioned by Bede, included illustrations from the Apocalypse among the works he brought home from Rome. The earliest important representation known is the mosaic of the twenty-four elders in the basilica of St. Paul-Without-the-Walls, which goes back to the fifth century.<sup>26</sup> This scene became traditional over the doors of the Italian basilicas and later of Romanesque churches, and flourished for some eight hundred years, until it was displaced by a Last Judgment based on the Gospel of St. Matthew.<sup>27</sup>

In the twelfth century, according to André Lejard, icono-



graphy was completely dominated by the Apocalypse.<sup>28</sup> In this and the following century one finds the book represented in works of art of all kinds — frescoes, mosaics, tapestries, windows, statues, and pictures.<sup>29</sup> After this time, the importance of the Book of Revelation as an inspiration of art decreased.<sup>30</sup> There is, however, one famous work from the fourteenth century, the tapestry in the cathedral of Angers.<sup>31</sup>

Illustrated manuscripts of the *Apocalypse* fall into two main groups. The earlier is Spanish, with some examples from southern France, and ranges in date from the ninth to the twelfth century.<sup>32</sup> It is based, not on the Biblical text, but on the commentary of Beatus, abbot of Liebana in the eighth century, and therefore cannot be considered among the direct ancestors of the block-book. But the second group, made up of northern French and English manuscripts, represents the same tradition as do the wood-block editions. The manuscripts belong to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.<sup>33</sup> As for the place of origin, some scholars propose England, and others France. These manuscripts contain more than ninety illustrations; legendary scenes from the life of St. John are included in most of them. Many works of art also show their influence.<sup>34</sup>

Six editions of the block-book have been distinguished.<sup>35</sup> The first two seem to have been made from the same blocks, with the addition of page signatures in the second; the third is an exact copy of the first two, and the fourth a free reworking of the original; the fifth is a reworking of the fourth, and the sixth an exact copy of the fifth.<sup>36</sup> The block-books, though based on the Anglo-Norman manuscript tradition, are probably German or Dutch, and originated in the first half of the fifteenth century.

The Library's leaves belong to the fourth edition. The page containing the City of God and the casting out of the dragon, which is the twentieth sheet, may be identified by the signature "K" and the form of the shield in the lower picture. The other sheet, number twenty-nine, can be recognized by the signature "P", the fact that St. John holds a staff in his hand, and by the misprint "in templo" instead of "de templo" in the text. Another distinguishing feature is the shading of the figures, put in by the wood-cutter to aid in coloring the pictures. This edi-

tion was probably printed somewhere in Germany about 1465.<sup>37</sup>

Arthur Hind ranks the work "first among block-books and holding a most honorable place in great achievements of art."<sup>38</sup> Kristeller remarks that the stiff symbolism of the manuscripts is changed in the block-book into something more natural and human. He finds in the woodcuts a "homely touch, a scarcely apocalyptic softness and mildness," and points out that St. John is transformed from a stern, bearded man into a beardless, tender, almost shy youth.<sup>39</sup>

The fantastic subject-matter of the Apocalypse contrasts with the more realistic scenes of the *Biblia Pauperum* and thus offered greater scope to the artist's imagination. Besides, its iconography seems to have been less standardized, and so permitted greater originality, at least in details.

Both block-books stand at the end of a long development, their earlier forms being created at the behest of the Church and under its direction. It is true that the Angers tapestry was commanded by a secular prince, yet there too the designer was furnished with a model. Nevertheless, many of the artists were able to create original works. The block-books are an integral part of the art of their time, influenced by and influencing in turn other art-forms.

## Notes

1. Wilhelm Ludwig Schreiber, Introduction to facsimile edition of *Biblia Pauperum*, ed. by Paul Heitz (Strassburg, 1903), 31, no. 23.
2. Hans Engelhardt. *Der Theologische Gehalt der "Biblia Pauperum"* (Strassburg, 1927), 13.
3. Schreiber, *op. cit.*, 10-11.
4. Eduard Bodemann, *Xylographische und Typographische Incunabeln der Königlichen Öffentlichen Bibliothek zur Hannover* (Hannover, 1866), [3]; Schreiber, *op. cit.*; Arthur Hind, *History of Woodcut* (Boston, 1935), I, 230; Paul Kristeller, *Kupferstich und Holzschnitt in Vier Jahrhunderten* (Berlin, 1905), 34.
5. The Franciscan John Peckham, later Archbishop of Canterbury, so calls himself in his poem *Philomena*.
6. Schreiber, *loc. cit.*
7. Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, 14-15.
8. Quoted by Rudolf Hochegger, *Ueber die Entstehung und Bedeutung der Blockbücher* (*Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Beiheft 7, Leipzig, 1891), 22, n.1.
9. Extract published by Léopold Delisle, in *Histoire Littéraire de la France* (Paris, 1893), XXXI, 214.
10. Joseph Guibert, *Les Origines de la "Bible des Pauvres"* (*Revue des Bibliothèques*, XV, 1905), 312; Schreiber, *op. cit.*, 3.
11. Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, ed. D. Plummer (Oxford, 1896), I, 373. Theodor von Frimmel thinks these were in the form of miniatures (*Die Apokalypse in den Bilderhandschriften des Mittelalters*, Vienna, 1885, p. 8).
12. Schreiber, *op. cit.*, 4-5; Mâle, *L'Art Religieux du XIIe Siècle en France* (Paris, 1922), 152ff.
13. Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, 9.
14. Emile Mâle, *L'Art Religieux du XIIe Siècle*, 164.
15. Schreiber, *op. cit.*, 4.
16. *Ibid.*, 8-9.
17. *Ibid.*, 19.
18. Mâle, *Art Religieux de la Fin du Moyen Age*, (5th ed., Paris, 1949), 233.
19. Schreiber, *op. cit.*, 18-19.
20. Hans von der Gabelentz, *Die "Biblia Pauperum" und Apokalypse der Grossherzog. Bibliothek zu Weimar* (Strassburg, 1912), [52]-55.
21. Cf. J. Ph. Berjeau, ed., *Biblia Pauperum. Reproduced in Facsimile from One of the Copies in the British Museum* (London, 1859), 6; Bodemann, *op. cit.*, 4; Mâle, *op. cit.*, 233.
22. Gabelentz, *op. cit.*, 19.
23. Facsimile edition with introduction by Paul Kristeller (Berlin, 1906).
24. Bodemann, *op. cit.*, 7. Cf. also Kristeller, *Kupferstich und Holzschnitt*, 84.
25. Schreiber, *Manuel de l'Amateur de la Gravure sur Bois et sur Métal au XV<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Leipzig, 1891-1910), IV, 160; Frimmel, *op. cit.*, 1.
26. André Lejard, *Les Tapisseries de l'Apokalypse de la Cathédrale d'Angers* (Paris [1942], [1]); Frimmel, *op. cit.*, 5.

27. Mâle, *Religious Art in France: XIII Century*. Tr. from the 3rd ed. [rev. & enl.] by Dora Nussey (N. Y., 1913), 356-57.
28. Lejard, *op. cit.*, [3].
29. Frimmel, *op. cit.*, 9.
30. Lejard, *op. cit.*, 4.
31. On this tapestry, cf. also Léopold Delisle, *L'Apocalypse en Français au XIIIe Siècle* (Bibl. Nat. fr. 403); ed. by L. Delisle and Paul Meyer (Paris, 1901), [clxxvi]ff.
32. Lejard, *op. cit.*, [2]; Mâle, *L'Art Religieux du XIIe Siècle*, 4; Delisle, in *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, XXXI, 284; Frimmel, *op. cit.*, 39ff.
33. Lejard, *op. cit.*, [5]; Delisle, *loc. cit*; *Id.*, Introduction to *L'Apocalypse en Français, passim.*; Frimmel, *op. cit.*, 67ff.; Mâle, *Religious Art in France. XIII Century*, 359ff.
34. Mâle, *L'Art Religieux du XIIIe Siècle*, 16; *Id.*, *Religious Art in France, XIII Century*, 360.
35. Samuel Leigh Sotheby, *Principia Typographia* (London, 1858) first identified and described the various editions. Cf. Paul Kristeller, *Die Apokalypse; Älteste Blochbuch-Ausgabe in Lichtdruck Nachbildung* (Berlin, 1916), 6ff.; Hind, *op. cit.*, I, 220-23; Schreiber, *Manuel*, IV, 160ff.
36. Kristeller, *op. cit.*, 9.
37. Schreiber, *op. cit.*, IV, 161; British Museum Catalogue (*XVth Century*) I, 3; Kristeller, *op. cit.*, 25.
38. Hind, *op. cit.*, I, 224.
39. Kristeller, *op. cit.*, 14-15.



# The Hunt Collection on the West Indies

By ELLEN M. OLDHAM

**A**MONG the lesser known collections of the Rare Book Department, yet outstanding in its field, is the Hunt Collection on the West Indies. Benjamin P. Hunt, Massachusetts-born but later a resident of Philadelphia, served from 1840 till 1850 as United States Consul at Port-au-Prince, Haiti, and there conceived an intense interest not only in that island but in the entire Caribbean area. He assiduously gathered books, pamphlets, maps, and manuscripts relating to the islands; and himself worked until his death in 1877 on various literary projects, including a history of French St. Domingo and Haiti. In his will he bequeathed his library, together with his manuscripts and notes, to the Boston Public Library.

Although scholars have become aware of this fine collection, hitherto there has been no account of it in print, with the exception of the manuscripts about which nearly thirty years ago an article appeared in *More Books*, the predecessor of this *Quarterly*. The printed books in the Hunt Collection amount to nearly seven hundred volumes. Many phases of the history of the islands are covered through travelers' accounts, laws and parliamentary papers, tracts on natural history and medicine, pilots' charts, and stories of buccaneers. But Hunt's sympathies had been especially aroused by the Negro and his problems, and the largest part of his acquisitions deal with slavery; with the sugar industry which slavery made possible and on which the economy of the islands depended; and finally with the black republic of Santo Domingo. The bulk of the Collection consists of works printed in the first half of the nineteenth century, but there are about one hundred and fifty items from the eighteenth, thirty from the seventeenth, and a few from the sixteenth century. Important as the collection is, its value for the earlier periods is greatly enhanced by the abundant material to be found in other Americana sections of the Library.

The story of the West Indies began when Christopher Columbus "on the thirty-third day after leaving Cadiz came



into the Indian Sea, where [he] discovered many islands inhabited by numerous people."<sup>1</sup> His first land-fall was at San Salvador in the Bahamas, but on his later voyages he discovered Cuba, Jamaica, Puerto Rico, Trinidad, and, most important, Hispaniola (Haiti), where he planted his first settlements. Thus one must begin with the first Latin edition of the *Columbus Letter*, published in Rome in the spring of 1493, and the Basle edition of 1494, which contains six woodcuts, the first — imaginary — pictures of the West Indies.

For the next half-century the Spanish had a free hand both on the islands and the mainland. The earliest accounts are also by Spaniards. Perhaps the most famous among them is the *Brevissima Relacion* and other tracts by Bishop Bartolomé de las Casas, which formed an impassioned plea to save the Indians from extermination by the Conquistadores. The original editions may be found in the Ticknor Collection, but the Library owns many other editions as well, in French, Latin, and English. Much of the bishop's tale of horrors was concerned with the natives of the mainland, but in the earliest English translation, *The Spanish Colonie* (London, 1583), one reads: "Of above three millions of soules that were in the Isle of Hispaniola, and that we have seene, there are not nowe two hundredre natives of the countrey . . . S. Johns ile, and that of Iamayca both of them very great, very fertil, and very fayre: are desolate . . . For they have bin all of them slayne."<sup>2</sup> Another version, translated by John Phillips, Milton's nephew, and entitled *The Tears of the Indians* (London, 1656), has an engraved frontispiece showing some of these tortures. Of the great histories of the times the Ticknor Collection provides also the first edition of the *Historia General* by Antonio de Herrera (Madrid, 1601), while the accounts of many eye-witnesses are gathered together in the compilations of Peter Martyr, Ramusio, Richard Eden, Purchas, and of course De Bry. All of these are available in the Library, often in many editions and several languages.

The earliest volume owned by Hunt was printed at Antwerp by Christopher Plantin in 1574. It is a Latin translation of Nicolas Monardes's Spanish work on medicinal herbs of the West Indies, which includes an eight-page discourse on to-

bacco and a number of woodcuts. The Ticknor Collection has the Seville edition of 1569, while from the library of Samuel Barlow came an English translation, *Joyfull Newes out of the New Found World* (London, 1580), with the first printed illustration of the tobacco plant. Another sixteenth-century book in the Hunt Collection is the Emperor Maximilian's copy of Joseph d'Acosta's *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias* (Seville, 1590), in which the Jesuit missionary discusses not only the plants, animals, and minerals of the Indies but also the ritual and laws of the natives and the history of Mexico and Peru after the Spaniards' arrival. Again the work may be consulted in early French and English translations; indeed, the Library has three copies of the latter (London, 1604), one of which (in the Prince Collection) once belonged to Samuel Sewall, whose signature it bears.

By the middle of the sixteenth century the Spanish no longer had things entirely their own way. The Portuguese had been smuggling in slaves from Africa, French privateers were operating against the Spanish fleet, and soon the English under John Hawkins and Francis Drake began both trading and raiding. In 1585 Drake carried out a full-scale attack on Santo Domingo and the mainland: the story is told in the very rare *Narrationes Duae* . . . (Nuremberg, 1590). Italians, too, were visitors to the islands, and one of them, Girolamo Benzoni, after fourteen years of travel throughout Spanish America, published in 1565 a *Historia del Mondo Nuovo*. One may note here that the Library owns Queen Elizabeth's copy of Linschoten's *Discours of Voyages* (London, 1598), the binding decorated with her coat-of-arms. The volume includes a map of the region as well as a brief description of the islands, among them "the olde Virgin Maryes, which lie together in a rowe, verie pleasant to behold, some greene, others red, blew, yellow, and violet, most wonderful to such as saile by them . . ." <sup>3</sup>

AS the seventeenth century dawned, exploration gave way to colonization, and France, England, and the Netherlands began to play an increasingly important rôle in the development

of the Caribbees. To illustrate the trend, Hunt gathered a number of contemporary histories of the islands; and again, important works in other collections fill out the picture. The earliest settlements of both English and French were made in the Lesser Antilles. The first permanent English colony was established in 1624 on St. Christopher (St. Kitts) in the Leeward group; soon it was joined by a French party, the two groups sensibly agreeing to divide the island. Barbadoes was next to receive English colonists, then St. Croix in the Virgin Islands, and a little later Tobago. The Dutch occupied Curaçao and several small islands between 1630 and 1640, and about the same time the French began the settlement of Martinique and Guadeloupe.

In 1654 appeared the first edition of the Dominican missionary Jean Baptiste du Tertre's *Histoire Generale des isles de S. Christophe, de la Guadeloupe, de la Martinique, et autres dans l'Amerique*. The author, who spent eighteen years in the Antilles, considered the establishment of the French colonies in the Cannibal Isles "no less marvelous and no less astonishing" than the founding of the Roman Empire by the twins suckled by a wolf, or the elevation of Moses who, exposed to death as an infant in a basket, became the liberator of his people. The volume begins with the history of the first three decades of settlement and an account of du Tertre's own voyages, but its larger part is devoted to a discussion of the climate, fauna and flora, and the habits of the aborigines. The concluding chapters cover the author's impressions of the French colonists: "They are composed, like all other colonists, of all sorts of people . . . Some are impious, some atheistic, and many libertines, . . . but one must bear witness to the truth that there are many good families and honorable people who live in the fear of God. Of all the vast number of men who flock to these islands, one finds scarcely a single one who claims to have settled there for the rest of his days; as soon as they have won some small competence, they retire to their native lands."<sup>4</sup> He describes the legal procedures and the means of protecting the islands, and compares the local mode of travel to that of the Apostles: "For if it is not 'without staff,' it is always 'without purse' and very often 'without shoes.' In whatever place midday overtakes



them, the travelers enter into the first house, where they are liberally given whatever is necessary, and after they have well drunk and well eaten, they pay their hosts with a great 'thank-you.'"<sup>5</sup> Finally du Tertre describes the slaves, who already "constitute all the riches of the land; so that a man is powerful, rich, and honored in these places only in proportion to the number of his slaves and servants."<sup>6</sup>

The value of the book is greatly enhanced by the detailed maps of St. Christopher, Guadeloupe, and Martinique, showing the location of forts, monasteries, etc. Some years later du Tertre expanded his work into four volumes, published in 1667-71 with the title *Histoire Generale des Antilles*. The extension consists chiefly of the enlargement and up-dating of the historical section, bringing in the activities of the new *Compagnie des Indes Occidentales*, to which was given the administration of the French possessions in the West Indies as well as a monopoly of all trade with them.

In 1639 an expedition of Huguenots settled on Tortuga which was then an international haunt of buccaneers. Their leader, Le Vasseur, was a military engineer who, having established himself as governor, fortified the island, making it a stronghold from which attacks were launched against the Spaniards. Cesar de Rochefort, who had served as chaplain to Le Vasseur, wrote copiously on the Antilles. His volume *Histoire Naturelle et Morale des Iles Antilles de l'Amerique* is especially noteworthy for its engravings of plants and animals, and for its folding plates which include a representation of a sugar mill (already the principal crop of the islands). As he remarked in his preface, "Discourse is the image of thought; but the picture represents the thing itself."<sup>7</sup> The Hunt Collection includes not only the second edition (Rotterdam, 1665), but also John Davies's translation into English, *The History of the Caribby-Islands* (London, 1666). Another interesting feature of Rochefort's work is a twelve-page Carib vocabulary. The Library also has Father Raymond Breton's *Dictionnaire Caraïbe-François*, printed at Auxerre in 1665-66.

Turning to the purely English settlements, the earliest and best account of Barbadoes is that composed by Richard Ligon, a London merchant who sailed to the West Indies in an attempt

to mend his fortunes. After narrating the story of his trans-Atlantic crossing, Ligon, in the same style as the writers discussed above, describes the life of the inhabitants, both white and black, enumerates the native plants and animals, including the ants and chiggers (Chegoes), guava, cocoa, palmeto, watermelon, banana, and especially the pine-apple (which he calls simply "Pine"), over which, like most of his contemporaries, he waxes quite poetic: "Then with a knife, pare off the rinde, which is so beautiful, as it grieves us to rob the fruit of such an ornament; nor would we do it, but to enjoy the precious substance it contains; like a Thief, that breakes a beautiful Cabinet, which we would forbear to do, but for the treasure he expects to find within."<sup>8</sup>

However, the chief value of the book lies in the study of sugar refining — and the careful spelling-out of how a man with three thousand pounds, and luck, can within five years acquire, and pay for, a plantation of five hundred acres costing fourteen thousand pounds, and thereafter win a clear profit of seventy-five hundred pounds per annum. No wonder the sugar trade became a matter of such vital importance to the economy of all those nations engaged in it. Ligon himself was not so fortunate. Having stayed three years on the island, he was finally forced to leave, worn out by constant bouts with fever — and upon landing in England was promptly thrown into prison by his creditors. Written in captivity, his *A True and Exact History* was published in 1657; the Hunt Collection has the second edition of 1673. A large folding map lists the names of all the plantation owners and the location of their estates, covering the entire western and southern shores, with a few scattered in the interior.

The island of Tobago — traditionally Crusoe's island — lying between the lower tip of the Windward Islands and Trinidad, has been occupied at various times by the French, Dutch, and English. In 1665 de Rochefort expanded the section on Tobago in his *Histoire Naturelle et Morale*, describing the island at the time when the proprietorship was in the hands of the Lamprosius family, under a concession from the Dutch States General. In 1683 John Poyntz, an Englishman, acquired from the Duke of Courland a grant of 120,000 acres and tried to

form a Company to colonize it. In a pamphlet, *The Present Prospect of the Famous and Fertile Island of Tobago*, he painted a glowing picture of the place, envisioning the story of a man with one hundred pounds who transports himself and family, eight in number, to Tobago and, renting fifty acres at two shillings a year, by the end of seven years will have an annual income of five thousand pounds. Unfortunately the scheme came to nothing.

JAMAICA, which for many years had belonged to the descendants of Columbus, did not fall from Spanish hands until the middle of the seventeenth century. It had no more than three thousand inhabitants, one half of whom were slaves. A naval force of Cromwell's men captured the island in June 1655, as part of an armed expedition against the Spanish; an eye-witness account of the maneuvers may be found in *A Brief and Perfect Journal of the Late Proceedings* . . . In 1672 Richard Brome published a small volume on the English possessions in America, and the largest section, which gave the work its name, *A Description of the Island of Jamaica* . . . , was taken from the notes of Sir Thomas Lynch, the fourth governor of the island. At this time Jamaica, divided into fourteen parishes, was already well developed. The latest survey of the population had shown 15,298 inhabitants, but Lynch estimated that at the date of his writing the total had doubled if not trebled. The principal commodity was cocoa, and a description is given of a cocoa plantation, with a calculation of its costs and profits.

Lynch was recalled in 1676, and two years later an attempt was made to levy upon the island a yearly tribute to the Crown, at the same time restricting the free legislature. However, in 1682 Lynch was again given the post of governor and the privileges were restored. *A Narrative of Affairs Lately Received from His Majesties Island of Jamaica* (London, 1683) contains speeches by the Governor and the Speaker of the House at the Assembly in the fall of that year. The new laws passed by the colonials and confirmed by the Court shortly thereafter were printed in 1683. There is a copy in the Prince Collection.

In 1692 a fearful earthquake shook the island, almost totally

destroying the principal city of Port Royal, which was built on an isthmus. Richard Brome, again drawing upon eye-witness accounts, included a long description of the disaster in his *General History of Earthquakes* (London, 1694). He notes that one of those saved "by hanging by hands upon the Rack of a Chimney"<sup>9</sup> was Dr. Trapham, a physician, who a few years earlier had written *A Discourse of the State of Health in the Island of Jamaica*. The disaster inspired John Tutchin to write a pindaric poem entitled *The Earthquake of Jamaica*.

THE seventeenth century saw the peak of one typically West-Indian institution. To the layman a pirate by any name is still a pirate; but the famous pirates of the Caribbean, better known as buccaneers, had their own peculiar history. The West Indies, almost from the time the first Spanish ship sailed home with a load of silver and other merchandise, was a tempting spot for smugglers and marauders of all kinds. France and Spain were at war almost throughout the entire sixteenth century, and each time fighting broke out French privateers—individuals working for the government—cruised among the Bahamas lying in wait for the Spanish ships sailing through the Florida Channel. It was this which forced the Spaniards to protect their yearly fleets with a convoy of men-of-war. In the 1630's the Dutch supported the raiders against them, but later in the century the French joined the English in an attack on the commercial ascendancy of the Dutch; and still later the English and Dutch allied themselves against the French. To be sure, in the Lesser Antilles, where the three nations were mainly settled, the periods between wars were peaceful, but among the larger islands belonging to Spain raiding had become a habit, and its practitioners cared nothing for treaties of peace — if they were not under hire, they simply swooped down on their own account upon unlucky cargo ships or held prosperous settlements for ransom.

The name "buccaneers" was derived from "boucan," a method of curing strips of meat by smoking over a slow fire, since in moments of temporary honesty the band made a living by catching the wild pigs that roamed the islands, selling their



smoked meat and hides to passing ships. Their ranks included many types of desperate brigands, ship-wrecked sailors, deserters, escaped prisoners, runaway servants, etc., mostly English and French. Their chief strongholds became Tortuga and Hispaniola, and, after its seizure by the English, the Port Royal sector of Jamaica. The treatment of the buccaneers by the royal governors varied from time to time, depending on policies of expediency, but in the Second Dutch War of 1665-67 Sir Thomas Modyford of Jamaica was authorized to grant commissions of "reprisal" to their captains, their services to be paid for from their plunder. Actually the use of these brigands as an auxiliary naval force was not very successful, since they were interested only in attacking where there was good expectation for profit, which to them meant largely the Spanish possessions.

The most notorious of all the buccaneers was Henry Morgan who, coming to the islands as an indentured servant, quickly ran away to join the pirates — and eventually was knighted and appointed lieutenant-governor of Jamaica. In the late '60's, commissioned by Governor Modyford, he carried out a number of daring raids on Puerto Bello, Maracaibo, and Panama, establishing "an unexampled reputation for pillage and torture of prisoners." But the times were changing, and in the Treaty of Madrid both Spain and England promised to abstain from pillage and to revoke all "letters of marque," while Spain acknowledged the presence of the English in the Caribbean. The new policy attempted suppression of the buccaneers, but for some time they defiantly expanded their field of operations; they crossed the Isthmus in 1680 and under John Coxon and Richard Sawkins ranged up and down the Pacific Coast, returning home by way of Cape Horn. The French continued their support of the "filibustiers" for a while longer, since Louis XIV had not been able to gain Spanish recognition of his possession of Santo Domingo on Hispaniola. Indeed, the years from 1677 to 1685 brought the buccaneers their greatest successes and most savage reputation, many of the English pirates joining them under such leaders as Van Horn, Lourens de Graaf, and the Marquis de Maintenon. With the Peace of Ryswyck in 1697 Santo Domingo was formally ceded to France,

and the age of the great buccaneers came suddenly to an end.

The classic account of these times is *De Americaensche Zee Rovers*, a work published in Amsterdam in 1678. The author, John Esquemeling, himself claimed to be a buccaneer. The Hunt Collection has not only the Dutch first edition—its plates include portraits of a number of the most notorious sea-rovers, each against a background of sinking ships or burning towns—but also the first English edition, *Bucaniers of America* (London, 1684-85), the second volume of which contains an account of the raiding trip around Cape Horn, taken from the journal of Basil Ringrose. Another account of interest is Lionel Wafer's *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (London, 1699). Wafer, while accompanying the buccaneers in their march across the Isthmus in 1681, was wounded by an explosion of gunpowder and left behind among the Darien Indians, where he remained for several months. The book has many interesting plates of the natives.

ALTHOUGH the Spanish in Hispaniola and on the mainland, as well as the Portuguese in Brazil, had been growing sugar from the early days of their colonies, it was the Dutch—the leading traders of the West Indies—who introduced its cultivation into the French and British islands in the late 1630's. After about 1650 it became the main product of the area, as tobacco, indigo, cotton, and similar crops proved to be unsatisfactory. The demand for sugar in Europe was growing steadily, and so did the plantations, since the mills had to be built near the fields, the sugar being a very perishable crop. Suitable land was present in abundance; the other necessity was a large and ready source of cheap labor. It was this need that nurtured the tremendous trade in African slaves, for it was no longer possible to recruit sufficient help from indentured servants and transportees as in the early days of the settlements.

One may mention in this connection *The Case of John Wilmore* (London, 1682), a sea-captain's refutation of the charge of kidnapping a boy. Captain Wilmore contended that the youngster had claimed that "he had neither Father, Mother, nor Master" and would like to go to sea. An indenture, there-

fore, had been drawn and the boy shipped to Wilmore's plantation in Jamaica, where "doubtless he was better off than a white servant in England," for, the Captain went on, each white servant in the colony was newly clad from top to toe every year and received among other foodstuffs a pound of flesh or fish a day. Care was taken also of his soul, since every Parish in the island allowed its minister 100 pounds a year, besides other gifts.<sup>10</sup>

But it was the slave trade which has been called "the indispensable handmaid"<sup>11</sup> of the sugar industry. As the white laborers declined, the number of slaves multiplied — in Barbadoes, for instance, they increased from 6,000 in 1645 to 46,000 thirty years later; during the same period, the whites dropped from 40,000 to 20,000. For the most part trade was a chartered monopoly, given by the English to the Royal African Company and by the French to the *Compagnie des Indes Occidentales* and the *Compagnie d'Afrique*.

Along with the problems arising from this monopoly, the English planters found themselves faced by a multitude of restrictive Acts, such as the Navigation Act of 1660, which provided that no goods might be imported or exported except in English ships and, even more important, that all West Indian products must be shipped to an English port, even though eventually sold elsewhere. At the same time various duties were levied upon these products, giving rise to considerable distress among the planters. A typical expression of their feelings may be found in Edward Littleton's *The Groans of the Plantations; or A True Account of Their Grievous and Extreme Sufferings by the Heavy Impositions upon Sugar* . . . (London, 1689). The author points out the benefits which the colonies brought to the mother country through their employment of ships and sailors, the importation of iron ware, tin, rope, cloth, horses, flour, and so on, and denies that they were depopulating England. A similar work is Sir Dalby Thomas's *An Historical Account of the Rise and Growth of the West-India Colonies* . . . (London, 1690).

(A second article will consider the material about the South Sea Bubble, the revolt of the French slaves under Toussaint l'Ouverture and Henri Christophe, the Anti-Slavery movement

in England and the Abolition Act of 1808, and the development of modern colonial government.)

## Notes

1. *The First Letter of Christopher Columbus . . . reproduced in facsimile from the copy . . . now in the Boston Public Library, with a new translation.* (Boston, 1891), 5.
2. Bartolomé de las Casas, *The Spanish Colonie* (London, 1583), [19].
3. Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *Discours of Voyages into ye Easte & West Indies* (London, 1598), 225.
4. Jean Baptiste du Tertre, *Histoire generale des isles . . .* (Paris, 1654), 466-67.
5. *Ibid.*, 470.
6. *Ibid.*, 473.
7. Cesar de Rochefort, *Histoire Naturelle et morale des iles Antilles* (Rotterdam, 1665), p. 3 of the Preface.
8. Richard Ligon, *A True and Exact History of the Island of Barbadoes* (London, 1673), 84.
9. Richard Broome, *The General History of Earthquakes* (London, 1694), 140.
10. *The Case of John Wilmore Truly and Impartially Related* (London, 1682), 2, 4.
11. J. H. Parry and P. M. Sherlock, *A Short History of The West Indies* (London, 1956), 95.

# Susan B. Anthony for the Working Woman

By ALMA LUTZ

“WOMAN must have a purse of her own, and how can this be so long as the wife is denied the right to her individual joint earnings,” Susan B. Anthony wrote in her diary in 1853, when she was thirty-three years old.<sup>1</sup>

Traveling in New York State as an agent for the Daughters of Temperance, she had been appalled by woman's complete economic dependence on man. Even if a woman added to the family income through her own work as a seamstress, a laundress, a servant, or an author, or if she ran a boarding house or a school, her earnings belonged to her husband. In addition, women's earnings in fields in which they competed with men, as teachers or mill workers, were half of those received by men doing the same work. It soon became clear to her that the first step toward the economic independence of women was to gain property rights for them through legislation.

For the next seven years she held meetings throughout the state and circulated petitions calling for amendments to the married women's property laws. She showed particular interest in reaching wage-earning women with her message, writing her friend Martha C. Wright, “I would like a particular effort made to call out the Teachers, Sewing Women — the Working Women generally. Can't you write something for your papers that will make them feel that it is for them that we work more than for the wives and daughters of the rich?”<sup>2</sup> She won a legal revolution for the women of New York when in 1860 the Legislature passed these amendments.

She was not, however, brought face to face with the deplorable conditions under which many women worked and lived until the war-years of 1863 and 1864 which she spent in the city of New York. Then the war and the freeing of the slaves occupied her mind, but in 1868, when she came back to New York to publish her weekly paper *The Revolution*, she turned her attention to the working women. Through the periodical she was able to speak her mind on their problems.



Of prime concern to her were the long hours, low wages, and unhealthy situations of the women who, keeping pace with the expanding economic system, were obliged to follow their work out of the home into the factory. These women whom she met on the streets of New York, hurrying to work at dawn and returning late at night, were weary and shabbily dressed. They had merely exchanged one form of slavery for another. Nevertheless, she felt they had taken an important step in the right direction. They were entering new fields and were being paid for their work. The next step, in her opinion, was for them to win the right to vote through which they would gain the respect of their employers, the public, and the men who were their competitors. With the vote as a lever, they could better demand higher wages and shorter hours.

She realized that women finding their way into new occupations were at a disadvantage not only because they lacked training, but because men, fearing the competition of women at lower wages, kept them out of their unions, which were as yet few and short-lived. The women tailors of New York had formed a union as early as 1825, but it had not survived, and later attempts to organize had rarely been successful. A few men's unions had weathered the years, but only the National Labor Union, established in Baltimore in 1866 for the purpose of federating all unions, welcomed women.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY saw the importance of forming women's unions and of getting women admitted to men's unions, but she felt that hand in hand with this effort should go the demand for woman suffrage. Therefore, in lecturing throughout the country she sought out working women for the purpose of planting the idea in their minds. On February 18, 1867, she had written to her friend Anna E. Dickinson:

I spoke to the Cohoes Factory girls the other night and showed them how speedily they could compel their employers to concede to them the 10 hour system — to say nothing of the 8 — and also equal place and pay — the moment they should hold the ballot in their hands. The Working Women see the point and the power of the ballot and respond most beautifully to our demand for it.<sup>3</sup>

The letter proved to be too optimistic, as she discovered



when she called a meeting in *The Revolution* office in 1868 to organize a Workingwoman's Association. The National Labor Union Congress was soon to meet in New York and she wanted to see working women represented. Most of the women who came at her invitation were from the printing trades, operators of the newly invented typesetting machines, press feeders, bookbinders and clerks, in whom she had become interested through her venture in publishing. She wanted them to call their organization the Workingwoman's Suffrage Association, but they refused to ally themselves with the suffrage cause as they feared the disapproval of the public and were convinced that they should not seek political rights until they had improved their working conditions. Unable to make them see that they were putting the cart before the horse, she was patient; and they formed Workingwomen's Association No. 1, electing her their delegate to the National Labor Congress.

Then calling a meeting at the Workingwoman's Home on Elizabeth Street, New York, she formed still another group. This Home, a philanthropic enterprise furnishing women decent dormitory housing at low price, was a good center from which to work. Well over a hundred young women gathered here to listen to her and to three delegates from the National Labor Congress. Most of these young women were from the sewing trades — seamstresses, lace-collar makers, hoop-skirt makers, fur sewers, corset makers, umbrella and parasol makers, metal burnishers, saleswomen, and so on.

After pointing out how important the ballot was in their struggle for higher wages, Mrs. Anthony, with the help of a Labor Congress delegate, L. A. Hine from Ohio, encouraged them to talk about their conditions. Most of them worked from ten to fourteen hours a day, earning from four to eight dollars a week. Only a few of the most skilled earned as much as ten dollars. Warning them that they could not keep up these long hours over many years, and telling them that the majority of women in the city worked for even less under more unhealthy conditions, Hine urged them to organize, while Miss Anthony spurred them on:

You must not work for these starving prices any longer . . .

Have a spirit of independence among you, a wholesome discontent, as Ralph Waldo Emerson has said, and you will get better wages for yourselves. Get together and discuss, and meet again and again . . . I will come and talk to you . . .<sup>4</sup>

They followed her advice, forming Workingwomen's Association No. 2, and elected Mrs. Mary Kellogg Putnam to represent them at the National Labor Congress.

With Mrs. Putnam, with Kate Mullaney, the able president of the Collar Laundry Union of Troy, New York; with Mary A. MacDonald of the Women's Protective Labor Union of Mt. Vernon, New York; and with Elizabeth Cady Stanton, representing the Women's Suffrage Association of America, Susan B. Anthony appeared at the National Labor Congress. All were welcomed except Mrs. Stanton, whose acceptance the rank and file feared might indicate to the public that the National Labor Congress endorsed votes for women.

The women had a friend in William H. Sylvis of the Ironmolders' Union, who was the driving force behind the National Labor Congress. He was glad to have Mrs. Stanton and everyone else who believed in his cause. Nevertheless, the debate on Mrs. Stanton's admission continued for some time, giving Miss Anthony an opportunity to explain to this gathering of union men the importance of the ballot to working women: "What protection had the women," she asked, "if they should undertake a strike now; they were powerless without the ballot. It was the power of the ballot that made men successful in their strikes."<sup>5</sup> Then calling their attention to the recent strike of printers on the New York *World*, during which women typesetters took men's places at low wages, she emphasized that with the proper spirit of co-operation between men and women, enrolling both in unions, this could not happen, for, as they achieved a higher standing in the labor market, women would not undercut men's wages.

Among the majority of union men, however, the opposition to woman suffrage was strong, eighteen threatening to resign if Mrs. Stanton were admitted. Finally they adopted a resolution declaring that her acceptance in no way committed the Labor Congress to her "peculiar ideas" or to "Female Suffrage."

This contest over, a committee on female labor was ap-

pointed with Susan B. Anthony as one of its members, and here again she explained to the women the value of the vote in the struggle for higher wages. She had at hand a perfect example in the unsuccessful strike of Kate Mullaney's strong, well-organized union of 500 collar workers in Troy, New York. Knowing that Kate had blamed their defeat on the ruthless newspaper campaign inspired and paid for by employers, Susan asked her, "Do you not think if you had been 500 carpenters or 500 masons, you would have succeeded?" "Certainly," Kate Mullaney replied, as she explained that two hundred striking brick-layers had won every point they demanded. Thereupon Miss Anthony pointed out that because brick-layers were voters newspapers would always think twice before attacking or ridiculing their strikes, remembering that any candidate whom they might support in the next election would need the votes of all the union men in the city. "If those collar laundry women had been voters," she added, "they would have held, in that little city of Troy, the balance of political power."<sup>6</sup>

Her arguments carried weight with the committee on female labor which presented a strong report, urging women "to learn trades, engage in business, join our labor unions, or form protective unions of their own, secure the ballot, and use every other honorable means to persuade or force employers to do justice to women by paying them equal wages for equal work."<sup>7</sup> In addition, it called upon the National Labor Congress to aid the organization of women's unions, to demand the eight-hour day for women as well as men, and to ask Congress and State legislatures to pass laws providing for equal pay for women in government employ.

The word "ballot" was quickly challenged by the men and had to be deleted before the report was accepted by the National Labor Congress. This setback, however, was nothing to Susan B. Anthony in comparison with the new friends she had made for woman suffrage among prominent labor leaders.

ONE of the most encouraging signs at this time was the friendliness of the New York *World*, the reporters of which covered the meetings of the Workingwoman's Association with

sympathy, arousing much local interest. *The Revolution*, reprinting these news stories, carried their import farther afield, bringing to the attention of the public the need of organizing working women and of providing training and trade schools for them, as also the wisdom of equal pay for equal work. The magazine never forgot to spur women on to learn new skills and actually to do equal work if they expected equal pay.

When reports reached Susan B. Anthony that women in the printing trade were reluctant to do manual labor, get their hands dirty or lift heavy galleys, she quickly let them know her disapproval:

Those who stayed at home had to wash kettles, lift wash-tubs and black stoves until their hands became blackened and hardened. It was with such a spirit as this that they ought to go to work at their cases . . . Were these heavier than a wash-tub filled with water and clothes, or the old cheese tubs? . . . The trouble is either that girls are not educated to have physical strength or else they do not like to use it. If a union of women was to succeed, it would have to be composed of strength, nerve, courage, and persistence; with no fear of dirtying their white fingers, but with a determination that when they went into an office they would go through with all that was required of them, and demand just as high wages as the men . . .<sup>8</sup>

Working women's associations now existed in Boston, St. Louis, Chicago, San Francisco, and other cities, aroused by efforts at organization in New York. These associations occasionally exchanged ideas, and news of all of them was published in *The Revolution*. The groups in Boston and the out-lying textile mills were particularly active, and Susan B. Anthony brought to her next suffrage convention, held in Washington in 1870, Jennie Collins of Lowell, who was leading a strike against a cut in wages. The newspapers, too, began to notice working women, publishing articles about their conditions.

Miss Anthony tried to amalgamate the various groups in New York, forming a Workingwomen's Central Association, of which she was elected president. To its meetings she invited interesting speakers giving practical reports, on wages, hours, and working conditions. She herself picked up a great deal of useful information in her daily rounds. On her walks to and from work she met poorly-clad women carrying sacks and



baskets in which they collected rags, scraps of paper, bones, old shoes, and anything worth rescuing from "garbage boxes." With friendliness she greeted them, stopping to talk about their work, and through her interest bringing several of them into the Workingwomen's Association. Looking forward to surveys on all women's occupations, she appointed a committee to investigate the ragpickers, many of whom lived in tumble-down shanties on the rocky land which is now Central Park.

This investigation revealed that more than half of the 1200 ragpickers were women, and that it was the only occupation in which women had an equal opportunity with men, receiving equal compensation. Average earnings ranged from forty cents a day to ten dollars a week. Ragpickers were paid three cents a pound for rags and paper to be used again in the manufacture of paper, and fifty cents a bushel for old bones which went into parasol handles, tooth-brushes, and buttons. Old shoes brought little but could be used for fuel to keep the slab shanties warm. The report was highly sentimental in the light of today's scientific approach, but it was a promising beginning, made by women themselves.<sup>9</sup> It was a forerunner of the reports of the Women's Bureau of our Labor Department.

Susan B. Anthony also encouraged the establishment of a woman's exchange, a central depot for the sale of women's handwork, where samples of embroidery, plain sewing, wood-carving, engraving, waxwork, photograph painting, water colors, and oil painting were on exhibit.

The idea of co-operatives appealed to her, as it did at this time to many labor leaders. When the Sewing Machine Operators Union tried to establish a co-operative shop, where their members could share the profits of their labor, she did her best to help them. She dreamed of seeing them set up in a thriving business of their own, in a light, airy, clean shop, patronized by wealthy women eager to help their sisters. Her hope did not materialize, for the ladies to whom she appealed to finance the project did not respond, most of them looking upon co-operatives as a first step toward socialism. However, among members of the newly-formed women's literary club, Sorosis, she was able to arouse some interest in the problems of New York's working women.

EAGER to bring more women into the printing trade where wages were higher, she tried to establish trade schools for them. She looked forward to carrying on a printing business run entirely by women, giving employment to hundreds, and eventually to publishing a newspaper which would press for women's political, civil, economic, and educational rights. The founding of Women's Typographical Union No. 1 in 1869 and the granting to it of a charter by the International Typographical Union in 1870 gave her great satisfaction.

So obsessed was she by the idea of a trade school for women compositors that, seeing an opportunity for women when New York printers went on a strike, she wrote to a group of employers suggesting a training school for girls:

The Workingwoman's Association appeals to you to contribute liberally for the purpose of enabling us to establish a training school for girls in the art of type-setting. There are hundreds of young women . . . (more than fifty have made personal application to me) who stand ready to learn the trade—women who are stitching with their needles at starvation prices, because that is the only work they know how to do . . . Give us the means, and we will soon give you competent women compositors.<sup>10</sup>

It never occurred to her that by appealing to the employers she might be helping to break the strike. Labor men, however, soon let her know how they felt about it. She tried to explain her motives, reminding them how hard it was for women to get training in the printing trade, and how they had repeatedly refused to admit women to their union, further protesting that she never advocated that trained women compositors should work for a cent less than men, and that she rejoiced that Typographical Union No. 6 and the Women's Typographical Union were fair and loyal to each other. "Every woman," she declared, "should scorn to allow herself to be made a mere tool of, to undermine just prices of men workers; and to avoid this, 'union' is necessary. Hence I say, 'Girls, stand by each other, and by the men who stand by you.'"<sup>11</sup>

This misunderstanding returned to plague her when she attended a National Labor Congress in Philadelphia in 1869 as a delegate of the New York Workingwomen's Association. For three days her eligibility as a delegate was debated, as it was



thought that her admission would commit the Labor Congress to woman suffrage. When she won the remarkable support of 55 votes as against 52, Typographical Union No. 6 of New York brought accusations of a different sort against her. It pointed out that she belonged to no union; and called her an enemy of labor and a strike-breaker because she had encouraged women to take men's jobs during a printers' strike, forgetting how continuously and effectively she had supported the Women's Typographical Union. Not only did the members of Typographical Union No. 6 repeat their accusations again and again, but the press carried them far and wide, with the result that Susan B. Anthony was kept out of the National Labor Congress and was even sharply criticized by some members of her Workingwomen's Association. Yet she was not without friends in the ranks of labor. Although the Negro delegates, who should have been on her side, voted solidly against her, the New England delegates as a unit gave her their support.<sup>12</sup> The New York *World*, fair in its coverage of the heated debates, wrote: "Of her devotion to the cause of the working women, there can be no question."<sup>13</sup>

Under her guidance, the Workingwoman's Association continued to hold meetings as long as she remained in New York. In its limited way, it carried on a much-needed educational work, building self-respect and confidence, stirring up "a wholesome discontent," and preparing the way for women's unions and new occupations for women. The public responded. At Cooper Union telegraphy courses were opened to women; the New York Business School, at her instigation, offered scholarships in bookkeeping to women; and there were repeated requests for their enrollment in the College of New York.

WHEN in 1870 she left New York to lecture for the Lyceum Bureau, Miss Anthony did not forget the working women. In fact, she actually increased her activities on their behalf as she lectured for the next ten years throughout the country. "Work, Wages, and the Ballot" and "Bread and the Ballot" were her two most popular lectures. She said:

Statistics show that there are 3,000,000 women in this nation

supporting themselves. In the crowded cities of the East they are compelled to work in shops, stores and factories for the merest pittance. In New York alone, there are over 50,000 of these women receiving less than fifty cents a day. Women wage-earners in different occupations have organized themselves into trade unions from time to time, and made their strikes to get justice at the hands of their employers just as men have done, but I have yet to learn of a successful strike of any body of women . . .<sup>14</sup>

Without the political power latent in the vote, she told her audiences, women could never enforce their demands for higher wages or better working conditions.

She kept in touch with the national labor organizations, the influence of which she hoped to win for woman suffrage. When the National Labor Union disbanded, she turned to the Knights of Labor, and then to the American Federation of Labor which under the leadership of Samuel Gompers was friendly to her cause. She looked upon the development of labor unions and the subsequent contest between capital and labor as phases of an industrial revolution which would eventually lead to a healthier economic system. Recognizing that this revolution was bound to have an impact on women, she wanted her National Woman Suffrage Association to understand it. Few of her colleagues did so; however, two of her young women were wide awake on the subject, Florence Kelley and Gail Laughlin. Florence Kelley represented a new trend, social service, which made a great appeal to college women and set in motion labor legislation designed to protect women and children. Gail Laughlin, pioneering as a lawyer, sought protection for working women not through labor legislation based on sex, but through trade unions, the vote, and equal pay.

No letters or written statements have been found which would show how Susan B. Anthony reacted toward these two different approaches. However, judging from her character and past policies, it seems clear that, while she would have approved of legislation protecting child labor, she would never have been in sympathy with labor legislation linking women with children or singling out women for special protection. In 1904 she clearly expressed her philosophy in this statement: "Perfect equality of rights for women — civil and political — moral and social, industrial, and educational — is the end of my effort."<sup>15</sup>

# Notes

1. Ms. Diary, 1853, Library of Congress.
2. Susan B. Anthony to Martha C. Wright, January 18, 1856, in Garrison Papers, Smith College Library.
3. Susan B. Anthony to Anna E. Dickinson, February 18, 1867, in Anna E. Dickinson Papers, Library of Congress.
4. *The Revolution*, II, October 1, 1868, 198.
5. *Ibid.*, 204.
6. Ida Husted Harper, *The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony* (Indianapolis, 1898), II, 999-1000.
7. *The Revolution*, II, October 1, 1868, 204.
8. *Ibid.*, II, October 8, 1868, 214.
9. *Ibid.*, II, December 31, 1868, 406.
10. *Ibid.*, III, February 4, 1869, 73.
11. *Ibid.*, III, February 11, 1869, 90.
12. *Ibid.*, IV, September 2, 1869, 137.
13. *Ibid.*, IV, August 26, 1869, 120.
14. Harper, *op. cit.*, II, 999.
15. Ms. statement, May 24, 1904, in author's collection.

# The Lee M. Friedman Print Collection

By ARTHUR W. HEINTZELMAN

THE Print Department has been enriched by a notable bequest by the late Mr. Lee M. Friedman. Mr. Friedman's collection was limited to a cross section of old and modern work; nevertheless it contains a number of masterpieces, and much valuable material which adds great artistic and educational wealth to the Library's possessions.

Mr. Friedman was a Trustee of the Library from 1949 until his death in August 1957. Few people knew him as a collector of fine prints, or knew of his knowledge of the graphic arts in all schools of thought, from Dürer and Rembrandt to the French impressionists. Many of the examples in his collection were vivid records of the most important periods of such modern masters as Pierre Bonnard, Henri Toulouse-Lautrec, Henri Matisse, Pablo Picasso, André Dunoyer de Segonzac, Paul Gauguin, Edouard Manet, and Marc Chagall. There were also several fine examples by Charles Meryon; well-known subjects by James McNeill Whistler, Seymour Haden, Anders Zorn; and some interesting drawings by Camille Corot, Jean-Louis Forain, and Auguste Rodin.

An excellent group of engravings by Dürer highlights the acquisition, especially his masterpiece "Adam and Eve," followed by "The Cook and His Wife," "St. George on Foot," "The Apostle Simon," "The Turkish Family," "Virgin with the Child in Swaddles," "The Virgin with Crown of Stars," "The Sea Monster," and "Philip Melanchthon." The Library's Rembrandt collection is augmented by several good impressions in etching: "The Triumph of Mordecai," "Baptism of the Eunuch," "David in Prayer," "Rembrandt's Mother in Widow's Dress and Black Gloves," "Rembrandt with Raised Sabre," and "Manasseh Ben Israel."

There is an interesting background concerning the set of superb prints by Bonnard which were part of this collection. Ambroise Vollard, the well-known publisher of *de-luxe* volumes, envisioned at the turn of the century a series of portfolios in





*"Joies de Bretagne," a Lithograph by Gauguin  
(Reduced)*





the graphic arts mediums to be executed by artists who were not print-makers. This was at a moment when the French Impressionists were first making art history, due in great part to Vollard's early recognition of their work. His first adventure in carrying out his project was a commission for Bonnard to create twelve subjects in color lithography to be published under the title "Quelques Aspects de la Vie de Paris." The portfolio appeared in 1895, and its success was immediate. This initial enterprise encouraged Vollard to publish additional portfolios by other contemporaries such as Rouault, Matisse, Picasso, Dunoyer de Segonzac, and others.

It is understandable that Vollard should have chosen Bonnard to execute this first portfolio, for he was an artist of the people, and one known for his paintings of the French scene in all its aspects and moods. In "Coin de Rue," "Avenue de Bois," "Boulevard," and "L'Arc de Triomphe" one has the feeling of mingling with casual pedestrians and busy traffic, and one has the illusion of night life in the boulevard cafés in "Place le Soir" and "Rue le Soir Sous la Pluie." How realistically Bonnard reminds one of the Paris thoroughfares seen from the studio window where, with sensitive crayon, he captures the familiar atmosphere and magic of the narrow street with pushcarts, horse-drawn cabs, *femmes de ménage*, and children and dogs making their way in different directions. One also experiences this atmosphere in "Rue Vue d'en Haut," just as looking across the courtyard into the open windows in "Maison dans la Cour" fills one with curiosity. A typical scene is "Marchand de Quatre Saisons," the vendor with his hot chestnuts in a *quartier* where the sight of the baker's boys, homeless dogs, and groups of horses being led to the abattoir is a daily occurrence, or the "Pont des Arts" in heavy traffic with horses, cabs, and river boats, all balanced to form a lasting memory. Rarely does one see a series of prints of such an even artistic standard. These prints could be considered masterpieces in their characterized and anecdotal quality, setting the tone for future publications.

The Friedman collection also includes a series of fourteen etchings and drypoints entitled: "Saltimbanques," by Picasso. This was also published by Vollard as a set, but not as a port-

folio, and is fully representative of the artist's early manner. It is interesting to note that these plates, done in 1905 (with the exception of "Le Repas Frugal," 1904), are contemporary of the well-known canvasses painted during his "Blue Period." Perhaps the best known plate in the set is "Le Repas Frugal," an etching on zinc. In it the artist combines the open line and color value, carried to a degree of light and shadow known as painter-etching. Such magical performance in chiaroscuro has seldom been obtained in any etching since the turn of the century. This large print serves as a frontispiece to thirteen subjects which follow a year later and do not lose anything by their smaller proportions. Several etchings and drypoints, carried in light and shade, share the high quality of attainment found in "Le Repas Frugal." "Tête de Femme" and "Les Pauvres," etchings on zinc, "Buste d'Homme" and "Tête de Femme de Profil," both done in drypoint, are noteworthy achievements. The remaining seven drypoints and one etching executed in pure line — "Salomé," "Les Deux Saltimbanques," "Les Saltimbanques," "L'Abreuvoir," "Au Cirque," "Les Saltimbanques au Repas," "Le Bain," and "La Danse" — are all examples of beautiful draftsmanship achieved with complete freedom and sureness of hand in accent and *finesse* rarely seen in Picasso's later work. This entire set was not published until 1913 in a limited edition.

Dunoyer de Segonzac etched his first plate in 1910, and his *oeuvre* of approximately eight hundred prints is remarkable not only in quantity but in high standard as well. His work was liberally collected by Mr. Friedman, including fine examples of his wooded scenes, "Bois de Chaville," "St. Tropez, le Femme à L'Aire," and "La Statue du Bernin," in which the artist seems to experience his most sensitive interpretation of scintillating light piercing the wind-blown foliage. It is certain that he worked directly on the plate, for one gathers from these subjects that, although there is a certain repetition in his compositions, he creates an atmosphere of varying weather, thus enabling one to recognize the changes of the seasons. Dunoyer de Segonzac's figures were often placed out of doors, with trees and shrubbery as a background, the sun creating restless shadows on the face and figure. This is ably demonstrated in

one his best portraits, "Femme de les Mains Croisées." In this fine composition he presents more than a portrait, for the atmosphere surrounding it gives the subject unlimited space, seemingly much larger than the small area of the copper plate. The print entitled "L'Abside de Notre Dame" might be termed a sketch. Even though the artist used a minimum of line to express his idea, one experiences, by suggestion, a cold winter day with all the bleakness of the Ile St. Louis looking toward Notre Dame in the distance.

Four interesting examples by Paul Gauguin augment the Library's small collection of his work. They consist of two woodcuts and two lithographs. The lithograph "Les Vieilles Filles," done in 1888 when the artist spent some time with Vincent Van Gogh at Arles, is a flat decorative composition in black and white, with little half-tone other than a few staccato notes in the trees and bushes of the background and foreground. The arrangement is oriental, and in every sense a two-dimensional composition. The other lithograph "Joies de Bretagne," which was done in Brittany, is treated in the same manner, in flat planes emphasized in the women's black dresses which enhance the broadly conceived silhouettes and forms.

Two typical woodcuts by Gauguin, done during his first and second trips to Tahiti (1891-1893 and 1895-1903), are rare collector's items. The work is an example of perfect design in simple, yet solid forms. When he transposed his ideas to the wood-block, he achieved the maximum result in an economy of effort with rich blacks, flexible white outlines, and suggestions that are free from any conventional conceptions. He disregarded the so-called limitations of the woodcut by purposely employing a rough technique which was entirely personal and original.

One of Mr. Friedman's most valuable possessions was Manet's "Champs de Course." In this lithograph the artist extended himself far beyond anything that he did in etching. The theme in this exciting and moving print evokes the same bigness and force that he obtained in his painting. There is no pondering over detail, and the swift lines are so deliberate that nothing is left to chance. The Library is fortunate to have acquired this masterpiece.

## Notes on Rare Books and Manuscripts

### A Browning Exhibit in the Treasure Room

FIRST editions and autograph letters of Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning are on display in the two central rows of cases in the Treasure Room of the Library. The material has been mainly selected from the collection made by the Boston Browning Society and deposited by it in the Library in 1897. The exhibit was arranged in connection with the fall meeting of the Society held on November 18 at the Library. The guest speaker was William Clyde DeVane, Dean of the College and Emily Sanford Professor of English Literature at Yale University, a leading authority on Browning.

A highlight of the exhibit is the droll Browning sketch-book, which includes twenty-nine sketches by the poet and nearly two hundred by his father. The latter, a bank clerk, had considerable talent as an artist, constantly making caricatures, grotesque heads, and drawings in the style of Hogarth. But, unjust though it may seem, greater interest is attached to the far less gifted drawings of the poet. Instinctively one looks for a new side of his personality, but the book holds no such surprise. These are naive, harmless pieces, illustrations of jokes and puns, without even the sting proper to caricatures. An accompanying note by Thomas Ingall (a friend of the Brownings, who made up the collection between 1820-30) comments that the poet scribbled them while he was "lost in thought."

One characteristic drawing shows a barber at work, cutting the locks of his client — the caption reads "Locke's Philosophy." The thief running fast with a piece of butter deserves the description "Butter-flies." And the gentleman and two ladies around the table with cats upon it constitute a "Mew-sick-all family." Half of the joke is in the titles. It is no idle suspicion to think that the play upon words came first and then the caricature. The volume was described at length in the September 1926 issue of *More Books*.

Another unique item is the page proof of *Sordello*, published in London in 1840. Press corrections in Browning's hand appear on nearly every page. In one or two cases he has supplied a whole line which had been dropped by the printer. The Library has first editions of practically all of Browning's works, including the rare *Bells and*



*Pomegranates*, printed in a series of eight pamphlets from 1841 to 1846, and containing many of the poet's best-loved works such as "Pippa Passes," "My Last Duchess," and "The Pied Piper of Hamelin." Other first editions range from the early *Paracelsus* (1833) to *Asolando* (1890). In the two volumes of *Men and Women* (1855) appeared some of Browning's finest love poems, as well as "Fra Lippo Lippi," "Andrea del Sarto," and other dramatic monologues. The proofs of Browning's translation of Aeschylus's *Agamemnon* are also on display.

Two volumes are from Browning's own library. One, a copy of Victor Hugo's *La Légende des Siècles*, was a gift to Elizabeth Barrett Browning. It bears on the fly-leaf in Browning's hand: "Dearest Isa Blagden gave this book to Ba on our last but one (last happy) journey to Rome, Nov. 1859. Casa Guidi, July 24, '61." The other, a seventeenth-century edition of *Histoire du Gouvernement de Venise*, was given by his son, Robert Barrett Browning, to his wife on their wedding journey.

Autograph letters of the poet include nine to Kate Field, a young American journalist, who formed a friendship with the Brownings; part of her correspondence is in the Boston Public Library. Another of Browning's letters in the exhibit contains reluctant advice on love, addressed to Mrs. George W. Smalley, the adopted daughter of Wendell Phillips and the wife of an American foreign correspondent. Unable to understand why the young woman could not cope with her problem, he wrote: "How odd that clever people will not put these questions to their own sensibility and experience, instead of beating about their brains for a merely intellectual reply!" His post-script indicates that in 1885 — at the age of seventy-three — he can no longer be bothered by the difficulties of the young and lovelorn. "I scribble in haste," he closes his letter, "I must be allowed to call and talk about what I care more for — these matters being a long way behind me."

Among Mrs. Browning's works, which are arranged separately, are *The Seraphim and other Poems* (1838), *Poems* (1844), *Casa Guidi Windows* (1851), and *Aurora Leigh* (1857). One of the finely printed editions of *Sonnets from the Portuguese* is that issued for the Limited Editions Club with decorations by Valenti Angelo, and another is the edition privately printed in San Francisco by John Henry Nash.

The manuscript of Mrs. Browning's "A Tale of Villafranca" and several of her autograph letters are also shown. The earliest, dating from before her marriage, was sent to her friend Mary Rus-

sell Mitford while the writer was in "exile" at Torquay. Another, to Richard H. Horne in 1845, expresses her pleasure over an article by Edgar Allan Poe about one of her books. "The reviewer," she remarked, "has so obviously and thoroughly *read* my poems, as to be a wonder among critics."

Mrs. Browning died in 1861, and upon receiving the news Sophia Hawthorne wrote to Mrs. Annie Fields in Boston: "By all who personally knew Mrs. Browning, I really believe she was more tenderly loved than admired. It was wonderful in her, that infinite feminine tenderness with a masculine force of intellect. 'The smallest lady alive' had the potency of a Titan in will and mind."

The exhibit will be on view till February 1.

### The Breastplate of St. Patrick

THE hymn known as "The Breastplate of St. Patrick" is a sort of charm or incantation against all dangers which might imperil the body and the soul. Attributed to the saint himself, it is preserved in an eleventh-century manuscript known as the *Liber Hymnorum*, now in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. The manuscript is in Gaelic, with beautiful illuminated initials, the colors of which are almost obliterated.

The text of the poem, with a Latin translation and facsimiles, was reproduced by the artist George Petrie in 1839 in Vol. XVIII of the *Transactions* of the Royal Irish Academy, and again in 1898 by John H. Bernard and Robert Atkinson in *Irish Liber Hymnorum* (Publications of the Bradshaw Society, Vols. 13-14).

An English version of "St. Patrick's Breastplate" by Mrs. C. F. Alexander was fitted to two old Irish melodies by Vaughan Williams for the *English Hymnal* of 1906. The first tune, given the name "St. Patrick" by the composer, had appeared in Sir Charles Stanford's edition of Petrie's *Complete Collection of Irish Music* (London, 1902). The second tune is called "Deirdre."

Of all the tunes in Stanford's edition "St. Patrick" is perhaps the most interesting. A note identifies it as coming from a Mr. Southwell, and as having been used with the hymn *Jesu dulcis memoriae* attributed to St. Bernard. Stanford published the tune again in 1913 and used it in his *Celtic Organ Sonata* (1922). It appeared also in *The New Hymnal* (New York, 1916) and in *Songs of Praise* (Oxford, 1925), harmonized by Sir Charles V. Stanford. Another version, with different words and another traditional Irish melody,

was printed in Dr. Douglas Hyde's *Dánte Dé* ("Hymns to God," Dublin, 1928).

Two letters were addressed by Vaughn Williams (who died on August 25, 1958) to the present writer, containing information about the tunes "Deirdre" and "St. Patrick." They are published here for the first time:

The White Gates,  
Dorking,  
29th January, 1948

Dear Mr. Appel,

The harmonisation of "St. Patrick" in the English hymnal is not by Stanford. As far as I know this is the tune's first appearance in a Hymnal.

The tune "Deirdre" also comes out of Petrie but I cannot place it exactly. I called the tune "Deirdre" because, as you know, it is a convention to call a hymn by a name for identification purposes.

Yours sincerely,  
R. Vaughn Williams

Feb. 25 [1948]

Dear Mr. Appel

In reply to your letter of Feb 13 the reprint of the Petrie Collection was the property of Sir Charles Stanford and later of Stainer and Bell. The harmonization in the English Hymnal is, as far as I can remember, by myself. I fear that after 40 years I cannot remember the source of the tune I called "Deirdre," but it was, I suppose, a non-copyright source — I probably harmonized it myself, on second thoughts "Deirdre" cannot be from Petrie or I should have acknowledged Stanfords copyright in that also.

Yours sincerely,  
R. Vaughn Williams

Since the date of the letters, there has appeared in the third edition of the *Hymnal 1940 Companion* (1955) a note to the effect that the tune "Deirdre" was published on page one of the musical supplement to Edward Bunting's *Ancient Music of Ireland* (Dublin, 1840). The author also discusses at length the legend of Deirdre.

RICHARD G. APPEL

The *Romancero General* of 1602

**I**MMEDIATELY upon its publication in 1600 the *Romancero General* proved a popular venture. Since then it has been regarded by scholars as a prime source for texts of historical ballads about peninsular conquests and heroes. Early collectors of *romances* uncritically used the first editions of the *Romancero General* (1600, 1602, 1604, 1614) as such. Modern opinion, however, considers that most of the texts in the *Romancero General* are contemporary with the published poems. Nevertheless the work is significant as the first large compilation of popular ballads.

The *romance* is a short narrative poem, built upon an episode in Spanish history and composed of eight-syllable lines, usually with alternate-line assonance. It is usually anonymous and may date anywhere from the early Middle Ages to the start of the seventeenth century. In many instances these *romances* were sung — and some still are.

The origins of the *genre* are obscure. Early nineteenth-century critics and collectors of this poetry, George Ticknor and the German scholar F. J. Wolf among them, believed that many *romances* were seeds of the longer epic poems, such as the *Cid*, *Bernardo del Carpio*, or the *Infantes de Lara*. Today the opposite theory, namely that many *romances* result from fragmentation of early epic poems, is generally accepted. The great Spanish critic Meneéndez y Pelayo, in his *Antología de Poetas Líricos Castellanos* (Madrid, 1890-1910, 10 vols.), traced the origins of the romance back to the *juglares* who recited parts of the *cantares de gesta*, choosing exciting episodes from the epics, surrounding them with the poet's "ornaments" and reciting them to groups of the common people rather than at Court. The populace repeated these stories among themselves, and so added them to folk-lore. Ramón Meneéndez Pidal also adopted the fragmentation theory, at the same time admitting other possible origins. He suggested that early historical ballads, much shorter than the *cantares de gesta*, were related by more humble minstrels, and that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries professional poets polished the older ballads and wrote hundreds of new ones from the *Chronicles*. He also mentioned the influence of the French *jongleurs* and of the inspiring events of the Reconquest.

The difficulty of determining origins and dates of composition is greatly increased by the fact that there are few printed sources before the sixteenth century. Except for a few undated broadsides,



there are only the printed collections of the mid-sixteenth century. While several earlier anthologies of poetry — such as the *Cancionero General* published in Valencia in 1511 (the Library has the editions of 1517(?), 1527, 1557, and 1573) — contain anonymous folk-ballads which were included later in the large collections, they cannot be considered as separate collections of *romances*.

The earliest separate collections were probably the *Silva de Romances* of Esteban de Najera and the *Cancionero de Romances* of Martin Nuncio. Meneéndez Pidal and George Ticknor believed that both were published in 1550 as different editions of the same book, although they disagree as to which was published first. In the Ticknor Collection of the Library there are fine copies of the *Silva de Romances* of 1602, a selection from the three parts of the original *Silva*; and also an edition of the *Cancionero de Romances* published in 1568.

It was not until the appearance of the *Romancero General* in 1600 that one finds several hundred *romances* in a single volume. The popularity of the work is shown by the frequency of reprints and enlargements. The Ticknor Collection has a splendid copy of the 1602 edition published at Medina del Campo.

In the nineteenth century scholars busily assembled *romances* from all sources. Among the first of the large collections was G. B. Depping's *Romances Antiguos* published in London in 1817 and 1825, which includes many ballads from the *Romancero General*. A collection made by Agustín Durán appeared in 1832 and 1849, and the Wolf and Hofmann *Primavera y Flor de Romances* in 1856. Meneéndez y Pelayo reissued Wolf's collection in his *Antología* with commentaries and additions.

The copy of the 1602 edition of the *Romancero General* in the Boston Public Library contains notes by Ticknor on the style, poetic worth, and age of the *romances*, classifying them as "pseudo-morisco," "picaresque," "humorous," etc. Although according to him some of these ballads are very old, none of them appears in the *Silva* of 1550. Similarly, hundreds of ballads collected in the nineteenth century remain enigmas so far as origin and date are concerned.

Some of the ballads on the Reconquest furnished subjects for the plays of Lope de Vega and other dramatists, or were incorporated in the text of their plays.



# Trustees of the Library

ERWIN D. CANHAM, *President*

SIDNEY R. RABB, *Vice-President*

FRANK W. BUXTON

PATRICK F. McDONALD

RIGHT REVEREND EDWARD G. MURRAY

## Director, and Librarian

MILTON E. LORD

## Contributors to this Issue

ALMA LUTZ is the author of *Susan B. Anthony, Rebel, Crusader, Humanitarian*, soon to be published by the Beacon Press.

EDITH A. WRIGHT is Editorial Library Assistant; ELLEN M. OLDHAM is Reference Librarian in the Rare Book Department; ARTHUR W. HEINTZELMAN, etcher and painter, is Keeper of Prints; and RICHARD G. APPEL is Chief of the Music Department, *Emeritus*, at the Boston Public Library.

THE  
Boston Public Library  
QUARTERLY

Volume 11, Number 2

## Contents

	<i>Page</i>
<i>La Mer des Hystoires</i> , PARIS, 1488 <i>By Edith A. Wright</i>	59
LETTERS BY HORATIO GREENOUGH IN THE LIBRARY <i>Edited by Nathalia Wright</i>	75
THOREAU'S FAME ABROAD <i>By Walter Harding</i>	94
THE DRAWINGS OF ELIZABETH MACKINSTRY <i>By Arthur W. Heintzelman</i>	102
NOTES ON RARE BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS	
THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL	107
THE 150TH ANNIVERSARY OF POE'S BIRTH	108
THE PATRON SAINT OF BOLOGNA <i>By Margaret Munsterberg</i>	110
ILLUSTRATIONS AND FACSIMILES	



EDITOR: ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

*The Boston Public Library Quarterly* is published for January, April, July, and October by the Trustees of the Public Library of the City of Boston in Copley Square, Boston 17. Second-Class mail privileges authorized at Boston, Massachusetts. Printed for the Boston Public Library, April 1959.

*Single Copies, 50 cents*  
*Annual Subscription, \$2.00*

# THE Boston Public Library QUARTERLY

APRIL 1959

*La Mer des Hystoires*, Paris, 1488

By EDITH A. WRIGHT

THE recent acquisition of a copy of the first edition of *La Mer des Hystoires*, imperfect though it is, constitutes a major addition to the Library's collection of incunabula. Only four copies are listed in Miss Stillwell's *Incunabula in American Libraries* (1940), owned by the Library of Congress, the Morgan and Chapin Libraries, and by Mr. Philip Hofer of Cambridge. The two large folio volumes are lavishly adorned with woodcuts. A. Claudin, who in his great study of early French printing devoted fifteen pages to the work, calls it the most beautiful French illustrated book of the fifteenth century. "With it," he writes, "the art of the miniaturist passed at one stroke into the domain of the printed book."<sup>1</sup>

The *Mer des Hystoires* was published in Paris by Pierre Le Rouge in July 1488 and February 1489. The type is "bâtarde," probably cast especially for the work, and is arranged in two columns of fifty lines. The volumes are beautifully bound in brown calf, with gilt decorations and lettering on the spine; on the upper cover of each volume are the arms of Louis Alexandre de Bourbon, Count of Toulouse and Duke of Damville. In the first volume the borders as well as the illustrations have been colored by a contemporary hand, and paragraph-marks and initial-strokes added. The second volume is untouched except for an occasional painted capital, so that the woodcuts

can be seen in their original state. Volume I lacks the first twelve leaves, including the title-page and some prefatory matter.

Pierre Le Rouge belonged to a family of calligraphers and miniaturists who had turned to printing.<sup>2</sup> His first known book was published in 1478 at Chablis, but he later moved to Paris, where he had printed at least one book, the *Quodlibeta* of William Ockham, before undertaking *La Mer des Hystoires*. In the latter he signs himself "Printer to the King" and displays a crown and fleur-de-lis in his device. He endeavored to make the book as beautiful as a fine manuscript. The capital "L" of the title-page is especially notable as a display of the calligrapher's art. This kind of decoration was popular in French books of the period, and one finds many elaborate letters "L", since titles often begin with a definite article. In the Library's copy the "L" of the first volume is lacking, but it appears at the beginning of the second, where it occupies two-thirds of the page, sheltering in its scrolls and flourishes an armed knight, a lady, a fool's cap, and an animated assortment of birds and animals.

The *Mer des Hystoires* is largely a translation of the *Rudimentum Novitiorum*, printed at Lübeck in 1475, and many of its illustrations — some two hundred in all — are inspired by the cuts of the earlier work. However, although the grouping of the figures is frequently the same, the cuts of the two books vary in details. Also, a great many new ones have been added; in fact, the most impressive features of the illustrations of the *Mer des Hystoires* are entirely new. All the cuts seem to be by the same hand, except for a series of ten small scenes from the life of Christ, which may have been taken from a Book of Hours and which occur later in several other works.<sup>3</sup>

Many of the pages are surrounded by wide borders, not in the model, composed of leaves and branches which support a varied population of men and women, cherubs, and other creatures from life or fantasy. The German scholar Leo Baer remarks that the artist's joy in reality and extraordinary knowledge of natural forms are reflected in this abundance; indeed, such a wealth of ornaments and motives had never before been attained by a printer. He also has high praise for the technical



ability of the artist, although he finds the illustrations somewhat hard and dry.<sup>4</sup>

The two maps, of the world and of the Holy Land, have been taken over from the *Rudimentum*, with a change of the place-names to French and the addition of a few ships, birds, and trees. Charming to look at, they are wildly inaccurate. Although Ptolemy had constructed maps on scientific principles as far back as the second century A. D., making use of parallels of latitude and meridians of longitude, his work was disregarded during the Middle Ages, and map-makers followed the authority of the Scriptures and Church Fathers. Ptolemy's great work on geography was translated into Latin in 1410, and a printed edition appeared in 1475, but without maps. The earliest printed edition to contain them was published at Bologna in 1477, but the *Mer des Hystoires*, published eleven years later, still has the more primitive maps of the *Rudimentum*.

The map of the world is in the "T-O" form (so called because it has the appearance of a "T" inscribed in an "O"), which was known to the ancient Greeks and remained popular throughout the medieval period. The world is shown as round and divided into three parts, with Asia occupying the upper half, and Europe and Africa the lower left and right quarters. East is at the top, and here is depicted the garden of Paradise, with its four rivers. Cities are indicated by clusters of houses, and identified by labels; one sees hills with fortresses and scattered figures — the Pope, a king, or a monk, considerably larger than the buildings. The devil also appears; in the Libyan desert are dragons and a serpent, and elsewhere is "the tree of the sun and the moon." The arrangement of the different countries is quite fantastic — Greece, Cyprus, and Italy are shown as north of France, Holland, and Norway; England is closer to Spain than it is to France, and so on.

The map of the Holy Land is similar, but square, completely filling the two pages. The general lay-out is slightly more realistic than in the map of the world; although distances are incorrectly shown, the relative positions of the Mediterranean, Red Sea, Dead Sea, and Sea of Galilee are approximately right. Jerusalem occupies the center; Christ is shown in the Garden of Olives and on the Cross, while the Egyptian army drowns

in the Red Sea, and in the upper corner Moses holds up the Tables of the Law. The rivers are thronged with ships, and pilgrims journey along the roads.

Full-page charts show the genealogy of Christ and the various kingdoms by means of medallions connected by links of chain; many of the medallions contain appropriate figures or scenes. These also are taken from the *Rudimentum*, but redrawn, and new categories are added — Egyptians, Assyrians, heretics, saints, and the French and Gothic kings. There is one other large cut, measuring 10 by 8½ inches, devoted to the history of Clovis. It is divided in half by a column; the left panel depicts the baptism of the king, and the right, his victory over the Alemanni. Smaller scenes show Clovis' conversion, a dove bringing oil for his baptism, and other episodes. Georges Duplessis, writing nearly a hundred years ago, described this picture as one of the most precious creations of wood-engraving in France in the fifteenth century, and critics have largely accepted his opinion.<sup>5</sup>

Most impressive of all are the three large initials, six and a quarter inches square, for which likewise there was no precedent in the *Rudimentum* — an "S" composed of dragons, an "I" enclosing a figure of Christ, and a "P" with a man writing a book. Notable among the smaller cuts are those portraying the Egyptian army engulfed in the Red Sea and the life of Aaron, both extending over two columns. Others illustrate the construction of buildings, battles, and scenes from daily life and the professions. Some are repeated, as for instance, that of a man with one hand before his face and the other in a plate, and a woman standing behind him. It serves well for the philosopher Carneides, who forgot to eat unless his wife guided his hand; but is also used elsewhere with no particular appropriateness. The representation of Castor and Pollux as a married couple is extraordinary. In general, however, the cuts fit their subjects reasonably well.

A second edition of the *Mer des Hystoires* was published at Lyons in 1491; a third in Paris by Vérard about 1500, and a fourth, again in Paris, in 1536. This last was described in the June 1943 issue of *More Books*.

THE *Mer des Hystoires*, as has been said, is a translation of the *Rudimentum Novitiorum*. Of the original author, nothing is known. His extensive knowledge of theology and the homilies scattered through the text suggest that he was a priest. Certainly he was a learned man. He speaks of the huge amount of effort involved in wresting his material "now from Augustine's City of God, now from the martyr Methodius, now from the epistles and sayings of Jerome, now from the writings of the philosophers." Among his sources were Cicero, Virgil, Livy, Ovid, Varro, Aristotle, and the astronomer-poet Aratus; his geographical information is taken from Pliny, Herodotus, and Isidore, and the glosses of the Bible; among historians he quotes Justinus, Orosius, and Gregory of Tours. Among the Church Fathers, in addition to St. Augustine, are St. Ambrose and John Chrysostom; among medieval writers, Vincent of Beauvais, Thomas Aquinas, Peter Comestor, Nicolas de Lyra, and Hugues de Saint-Victor.

The author's learning, however, is that of a medieval clerk rather than a humanist, as is shown in his attitude toward classical literature. For him, Greece was the "nurse of philosophy and the mother of liberal arts," but her chief claim to glory lies in "the fair name of St. Denis the Areopagite." Virgil was "the most subtle and elegant of all the Latin poets," but he was also a sorcerer, and the works of Cicero, Terence, Plautus, and Horace interest the writer chiefly for the moral sayings they provide. He rationalizes ancient mythology: the Greek and Roman gods were human beings; the sirens, "three wicked women," and the centaurs skilled horsemen; Mercury was considered a god because he lived so long that nobody remembered his parents. Yet he believes in the real existence of fauns and satyrs, and in all kinds of wonders and monsters, among them a race of men whose lower lip is so large that it serves as a parasol.

A clerical view-point is reflected in the discussion of such problems as whether it is sinful to make use of tapestries and embroideries. The author decides that they may legitimately be employed as church ornaments, but that the low-cut embroidered blouses of Spain are an incitement to immorality. How-

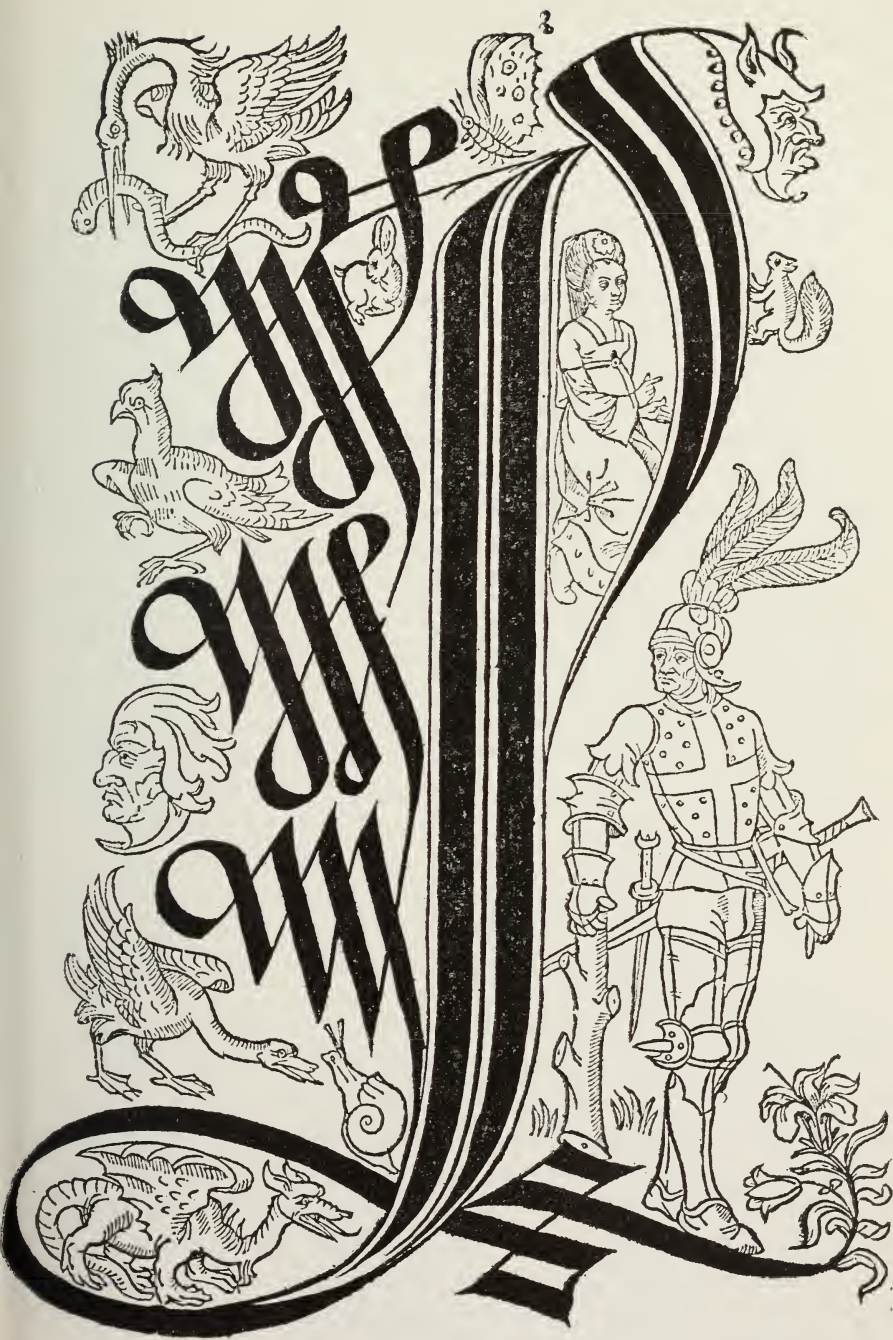
ever, he is not puritanical; men and women should dress according to their position in life and the customs of the court. As for dice, chess, and checkers, they are "causes of perjury, blasphemy, and curses, of discord and anger," yet at times they may serve "to comfort human nature, pass the time, and drive away melancholy and sadness."

The author's patriotism and local pride account for a long eulogy of Lübeck and for the fact that he describes the Rhine at length, but totally ignores the Seine. With Isidore as his authority, he characterizes the Germans as "strong, courageous and proud, handsome, fair of countenance, well-formed, with beautiful yellow hair . . . generous, gay, and joyous." Apparently he did not admire the English, for after quoting a poem written in praise of England by "an English versifier," he concludes: "Anyone who wishes to believe this, is free to do so." Apart from these few instances, the work shows little trace of personality.

The title *Rudimentum Novitiorum* indicates that the book was written for the instruction of young clerics, and it contains such helpful hints as that Aesop's fables may sometimes be used in sermons to combat boredom, though care must be taken that they do not provoke laughter, instead of the tears and repentance which are appropriate in church. But the *Rudimentum* was not meant exclusively for the clergy. As the author puts it in his introduction, the book may teach wisdom and give examples of deeds to imitate or avoid. The recital of Biblical events will serve the poor man who has no library, and the layman who objects to long accounts. Involved theological arguments have been omitted, lest they lead people into error.

AS for the translator — who turned the *Rudimentum* into the *Mer des Hystoires* — he announces himself as "a native Frenchman," born in the Beauvais district, and canon of Mello there. His friend and patron, André de la Haye, Lord of Chaumont and a royal officer at Sens, had persuaded him to translate and continue the work. Because the author had omitted the "noble kings of France, their triumphant deeds and glorious actions," which surpass not merely those of the





*From Title-Page of Volume II (Reduced)*





Romans and Trojans but also those of the Greeks and Assyrians, he has labored to extract — he writes — from the chronicles of France those things which are worthy to be remembered, and has inserted them in their proper place, among the accounts of popes and emperors. His resolve was furthered by the coronation of Charles VIII, who entered Paris when he had just reached in his translation the reign of the first French kings. It seemed to him the greatest service he could render the new king would be to celebrate the deeds of his predecessors. As Cicero said in a "belle sentence," one owes faith and loyalty not only to one's parents, but also to one's country.<sup>6</sup>

Both works begin with the Creation; the *Rudimentum* ends with the year 1473, while the *Mer* continues to the death of Louis XI of France, and the coronation of Charles VIII in 1483. As was customary in such chronicles, the history of the world is divided into six ages. The second begins with Noah, the third with Abraham, the fourth with David, the fifth with the destruction of Judea, and the sixth with the birth of Jesus. There are numerous digressions; the second age includes an account of the pagan gods and a geographical dictionary, with alphabetical lists of countries, mountains, rivers, and fountains; the third, a long description of the Holy Land, following which are sections on the "Seven Sages of Greece," Aesop's fables, and the Greek and Roman philosophers and poets. The last age contains a summary of ecclesiastical history and an exposition of the Apostles' Creed, and at the end of the book is a martyrology arranged according to the calendar.

In order to determine the measure of the dependence of the French translator upon the Latin original, the present writer has compared the *Mer des Hystoires* with the *Rudimentum*. The results may be summarized as follows:<sup>7</sup>

For the most part, the translator follows his Latin model paragraph by paragraph and even phrase by phrase, with minor omissions and simplifications, and a few changes in order as in the accounts of the classical philosophers and writers. In the geographical sections, he copies the praise of Lübeck and the German race, and does not expand the French entries, except for a paragraph on Great Britain and "Little Britain," or Brittany (quoted from Orosius and Pliny), and for one patriotic

addition to the information on his patron's city of Sens, telling what great warriors it had formerly produced, and how they had almost captured Rome, which was saved only by the warning of a goose. Three hundred thousand men from Sens once conquered Macedonia, Hungary, and Italy, and founded the cities of Milan and Siena, among others. In another place, the canon corrects an error in the original. The *Rudimentum* relates that Statius had two sons who were poets, Achineides [sic], and Thebaides, but the *Mer* rightly designates him as the author of two books, the *Achilleis* and the *Thebais*.

The chief contributions of the translator are, as he himself remarks, the accounts of the French kings, beginning with Clovis. He omits the statement in the *Rudimentum* that with Charlemagne dominion of the world passed to the Germans; but he recites many legendary details about this emperor, and summarizes the story of Roland from the prose version attributed to Archbishop Turpin. Whereas the *Rudimentum* states that the Emperor Otto fought the French King Philip with "marvelous courage," but was defeated, the *Mer* transfers the adjective "marvelous" to Philip's victory and gives further details. Other additions include an account of the Albigensian crusade and a long section on St. Louis.

The last part of the *Mer* is greatly amplified. For the earlier kings, the translator had depended on the chroniclers — Sigebert of Gembloux and others—but for the contemporary period he does not name his sources, which were probably largely oral or based on personal observation. He writes of the great frost in 1480, which was followed by a famine so terrible that many people were found dead in the fields and on the roads, and some who managed to get to Paris were too far gone to eat the food offered them and died pitifully. There is a dramatic account of the arrest of the count of St. Pol, Constable of France, and his execution for treason. The punishments of the day were cruel; when the Duke of Milan was killed, all the murderer's relatives were put to death, their houses leveled to the ground, and even the trees uprooted. The Duke of Clarence was mercifully allowed to choose the manner of his death, and elected to drown in Malmsey wine. A condemned thief was even luckier — the King turned him over to doctors to be ex-

perimented on, and after a successful operation and recovery, he regained his freedom.

King Louis XI is portrayed as "debonnaire" and averse to bloodshed. The final chapters recount the end of his life. His solemn interview with the dauphin, then eleven, whom he had not seen for years, is given in full. Afterwards the King summoned doctors, holy men, and musicians to care for his body and soul and to while away the time. Later, all the most holy relics were brought to his residence at Plessis. Before his death he arranged the dauphin's marriage, and his last act was to send a group of trusted followers to Amboise to support the young king. The book ends with a prayer that Charles may reign virtuously, for the honor of the nobility, the tranquillity of the Church, and the prosperity of all the people of France.

THE description of Palestine, which begins at Chapter 120 of the Third Age, deserves special attention. The author of this section calls himself "moy Borchard docteur et professeur de la sainte théologie" — a loose translation of the statement in the *Rudimentum*: "Ego Burchardus, professorum sacrae paginae minimus." However, the original version in the early manuscripts reads: "Ego, frater Brocardus, ordinis Praedicatorum." And in fact, Burchardus de Monte Sion (also spelled Brocardus or Bocardus) was a German Dominican of the thirteenth century, probably from Strassburg or Magdebourg. He made an extended stay, estimated variously as from two to ten years, in the Holy Land, and the appellation "de Monte Sion" comes from the monastery of Mount Sion at Jerusalem, where he is supposed to have lived.<sup>8</sup>

Burchard's *Description of the Holy Land*, his only known work, became very popular, and was much plagiarized by later writers. It is preserved in several manuscripts of the fourteenth century; the earliest printed edition, and the only Latin one of any value, is that of the *Rudimentum*. It was reprinted in the sixteenth century, with considerable alterations. A much condensed version appears in two books owned by the Library, the 1532 and 1555 editions of the *Novus Orbis Regionum ac Insularum Veteribus Incognitarum*, ("The New World of Regions

and Islands Unknown to the Ancients”), a collection of writings by various travelers, which also contains an account of Columbus’ first three voyages, and an early map of America. There was also an incomplete German translation, and an earlier French one, made by Jean Miélot, a canon at Lille in the fifteenth century.

Burchard is one of the most likable figures of the Middle Ages, and, while nothing was further from his mind than to paint his own portrait, one comes away from his book with a sense of having encountered a human being. Not a great writer, a philosopher or scholar, he is extraordinary for his tolerance toward other ways and beliefs, and for his critical attitude toward what he reads or is told. By his warm piety, he is rooted firmly in the thirteenth century, but his reliance on factual knowledge rather than tradition brings him close to the man of today.

His background and position one can only guess at. Victor Le Clerc, who has made a thorough study of the *Description*, believes that his “simple and rather vulgar style” indicates a simple monk, with only a meager education.<sup>9</sup> Still, in addition to a thorough knowledge of the Bible and the saints’ legends, he had apparently read Josephus, the glosses of St. Jerome and Peter Comestor, a Latin translation of Eusebius, and, among his contemporaries, Jacques de Vitry and Vincent of Beauvais. There is no evidence of familiarity with the classics; he cites a line from Horace, but attributes it to Jerome. He travelled on foot, seeking hospitality in monasteries, but was received with courtesy by the patriarch of Constantinople, lived for three weeks in the palace of the “King of Armenia and Cilicia” and for fourteen days with the chief prelate of the Armenians and Georgians, and visited the Sultan of Egypt, who had him conducted to see Cleopatra’s vine — all of which would suggest that he had a certain standing.

Burchard’s visit to Palestine can be approximately dated by various historical allusions. He refers to the Council of Lyons, which ended July 17, 1274, and to the destruction of Caesarea, which occurred in 1266, and relates also that he climbed Mt. Gilboa in 1283. On the other hand, his account was written before the fall of Acre, Tyre, and Sidon in 1291. (These dates



and allusions, found in manuscripts, were eliminated from the *Rudimentum* and the *Mer des Hystoires*.)

In a prologue the Dominican friar says that it is lamentable to be ignorant of the Holy Land. If one does not understand its geography, one cannot understand the Bible, and those who long to see the country but are unable to go there will now be able to picture to themselves the manger where lay the Child, the Sepulchre where Mary Magdalene wept, the Mount of Olives, and all the other holy places. For regions to which he was unable to gain access, he obtained information from the Syrians or Saracens. He also visited Antioch, Cilicia, and Egypt, but omits them from his account.

Burchard starts from Acre, where most pilgrims congregated, and, having drawn lines radiating from there, describes each section in turn. He shows little dependence on earlier writers; when he does quote someone, he says so. Thus he states that the greater part of the general description of Palestine was taken from Jacques de Vitry, although he had seen most of the places with his own eyes. He regularly gives distances between places as well as measurements of buildings, and his accuracy has been confirmed by later travelers. There are frequent statements such as "I myself measured it," "I measured the stone," "channels as deep and wide as the height of a man, as I know from actual experiment, having myself entered the watercourse through which the water runs." One gives him full credence, the more so for such frank admissions as that he had never seen the land beyond the Sea of Galilee.

NO one can completely transcend his time, and Burchard records numerous wonders. For example, he tells of seeing the rock to which Andromeda was chained "according to the poetic fables." He visited the field where Adam was created, and took away a great quantity of the earth, which was red and pliable like wax. Other pilgrims, he writes, do the same, and the Saracens carry off camel-loads of it to Egypt, Ethiopia, and India, to sell at a great price. Each year the hole is miraculously filled up, but Burchard, as he says, forgot to inquire into the truth of this when there. Another marvel is the fountain

in which the Blessed Virgin is said to have bathed her Child. According to workmen on the spot, oxen refused to draw water from it between noon on the Sabbath and Monday morning.

On the other hand, the friar's enquiring, sceptical attitude often manifests itself. Some people maintained that Mount Gilboa was never touched by rain or dew, because of David's prophecy (II Samuel I, 21); but this was untrue, for it rained when he was there. Likewise, some foolishly claimed that Jerusalem was differently located than in the time of Christ, for the place of the Cross, then outside the city, was now within the walls, "but," Burchard remarks, "they do not know what they are talking about, and speak of what they never saw." The walls, he explains, have simply been enlarged, and by inquiry and research in Josephus and de Vitry he has tried to determine the ancient form of the city. He also corrects from observation statements made by other writers as to the situation of Samaria, and his text is full of such comments as "Those who say this are mistaken"; or "It is not so; nay, it is impossible." He notes that the pillar at which Jesus was scourged was a piece of dark porphyritic stone, with natural red markings, which the vulgar take for the stains of Christ's blood. At times, he leaves the question of authenticity open, as in the legend connected with the tomb where the woman taken in adultery was buried. Supposedly, no one in a state of mortal sin could pass between it and the church wall. "I do not know whether this is true," Burchard comments, "but I saw many people pass there. Whether they were in a state of grace or not, I cannot say."

The primary purpose of the Dominican's travels was of course religious, and his book, dryly written though it is, is permeated with emotion caused by the sight of the holy places. At Bethlehem he spent a night in the Church of the Nativity, devoutly kissing first the rock where Jesus was born and then the stone manger. Everywhere he went, the Gospel events were vividly alive for him. At the same time, he gathered information on the native products of the land and its inhabitants. He tasted oranges, lemons, and bananas for the first time, noting of the last that it was "very sweet, like fine butter and honey from the comb." Of the fatigues and hardships of travel afoot, he says little or nothing, except to mention that at one

place he was in danger from crocodiles. Like the modern tourist, he collected souvenirs — not only the earth from Adam's field, but "a quantity of fruit and wood" from an ilex tree descended from one that grew in Abraham's time, and balm from a vine associated with Cleopatra. He was unable to carry off a bit of the rock which bears the imprint of Christ's head, though he "worked much with iron tools" to chip off a fragment.

Burchard's generous spirit reveals itself in his description of the people he encountered. He has nothing favorable to say about many of the Europeans in Palestine, who have fled there to escape punishment for their crimes or to do penance, "changing their climate but not their souls." But with good people everywhere he formed friendly relations. At Sebaste, Greek monks received him kindly and gave him food; at another church, he was "pastured humanely." The Greeks, he finds, are pious, and greatly honor their prelates, men of exceeding austerity of life and wondrous virtue. Of the Nestorians, Jacobites, "and other sects named after heretics whom the Church has condemned," he remarks: "But they are men of simple and devout life, and have archbishops, bishops, abbots, and other prelates, even as we ourselves." He was interested in the ritual and the requirements for the priesthood of the Armenian church, which he describes at some length, and thought that their Mass was "a most holy thing to see and hear." The one personal portrait in the book has for subject the Armenian Catholicus:

The chief prelate of the Armenians and Georgians is called the Catholicus. I stayed with him for fourteen days, and he had with him many Archbishops and Bishops, Abbots, and other Prelates. In his diet, his clothes, and his way of life, he was so exemplary, that I have never seen anyone, religious or secular, like him; and I declare of a truth that in my opinion all the clothes that he wore were not worth five shillings sterling, and yet he had exceeding strong castles and great revenues, and was rich beyond any man's counting. He wore a coarse red sheep-skin pelisse, very shabby and dirty, with wide sleeves, and under it a gray tunic, very old, and almost worn out. Above this he wore a black scapular, and a cheap rough black mantle. I have seen the King of Armenia and Cilicia with all his nobles sitting humbly and with the greatest reverence at his feet, the King often having with him his eldest son, and most devoutly hearing from him the Word of God.<sup>10</sup>

Even the Saracens appeared to Burchard as hospitable and courteous, although he mentions their vices and refers in one place to the "abominable Mohammed." Unlike the writers of the *Chansons de Geste*, who picture the Moslems as idol-worshippers, Burchard has some accurate knowledge of their beliefs, and speaks of having read the Koran. He knows that Moslems believe that Mohammed was a messenger sent from God, and that they accept Jesus as the Son of God, and reverence Mary and John the Baptist.

Burchard's narrative ends with a stop at Damietta on the Nile, but an edition of 1519 provides a conclusion saying that after ten years of laborious pilgrimages by sea and on foot, his body began to be weighed down by old age and fatigue; consequently, he decided to return to his own land and spend the rest of his days in repose. The passage is probably spurious; however, it is believed that Burchard did return to Europe near the end of his life and that he wrote his book about 1286.<sup>11</sup>

## Notes

1. A. Claudin, *Histoire de l'Imprimerie en France au XV<sup>e</sup> et au XVI<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris, 1900-1904), I, 471.
2. Henri Monceaux, *Les Le Rouge de Chablis* (Paris, 1896). 2v.
3. Arthur M. Hind, *An Introduction to the History of Woodcut* (Boston, 1935), II, 634.
4. Leo Baer, *Die Illustrierten Historienbücher des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Strassburg, 1903), 108, 111-2.
5. Georges Duplessis, *Histoire de la Gravure en France* (Paris, 1861), 12.
6. A copy of the *Mer des Hystoires* was presented to the King, and is now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.
7. The *Rudimentum* has been consulted at the Annmary Brown Memorial in Providence, which owns one of the three copies listed in the 1940 *Census*.
8. Cf. Aubrey Stewart's Preface to his translation of Burchard (London, 1896), iv, and Victor LeClerc's long chapter on Burchard in *Histoire Littéraire de la France* (Paris, 1847), XXI, 180-215.
9. LeClerc, *op. cit.*, 201.
10. Stewart's translation, 108.
11. LeClerc, *op. cit.*, 184.



# Letters by Horatio Greenough in the Library

Edited by NATHALIA WRIGHT

**H**ORATIO GREENOUGH, the first professional American sculptor, was born in Boston in 1805 and died there in 1852.<sup>1</sup> Most of his mature life, however, was spent in Florence, Italy, where he settled in 1828 in order to take advantage of older marble quarries and more skilled marble workers than were available in the United States.

His two chief works, colossal in size, were executed by Congressional order for the national Capitol in Washington. The first was a statue of Washington, to stand in the rotunda, which he conceived ideally and composed half-draped, seated, in the attitude of Phidias' statue of Zeus for the temple at Olympia. Because of the poor light in the rotunda, this work was at Greenough's suggestion moved a few years later to the Capitol grounds. The conception being popularly misunderstood, it was widely derided or denounced and eventually, partly on this account, moved to the Smithsonian Institution. His second work for the Capitol, for one of the blockings on the east front, was a group entitled *The Rescue*. Executed in a generally realistic manner, it represents an American pioneer preventing an Indian from massacring a pioneer woman and child.

Greenough was also an architectural theorist and an esthetician of distinction. In several essays in his book *The Travels, Observations, and Experience of a Yankee Stonecutter*<sup>2</sup> he set forth a theory of functional architecture in advance of his time. He was, in fact, the first American to make a comprehensive statement of that theory. In other essays he expressed his critical opinions about society, politics, and religion.

The Boston Public Library possesses nine letters written by Greenough, addressed to five different persons over a period of twenty years. They are representative of his total correspondence, which was a rather extensive one, in the range of subjects broached, the liberal sentiments voiced, and the formal yet warmly personal style. For what they reveal of both his career and his character they are of interest and importance.<sup>3</sup>



The first five of these letters were addressed to Robert Gilmore, Jr. (1774-1848), wealthy Baltimore merchant and art collector.<sup>4</sup> Greenough met him in the spring of 1828 in Washington, spent several weeks at his home modelling the bust of his wife, and received at that time his orders for the bust and a statue (Greenough's first order for a work larger than a bust) in marble. Gilmore was also partly responsible for Greenough's being loaned \$1000, made up by several individuals in Boston, which enabled him to go to Italy this spring. (This was the second time he went.) The statue which Greenough executed for Gilmore represented the dead Medora in Byron's poem "The Corsair"; it was completed and sent to the United States in the spring of 1833. For it Gilmore paid \$500, evidently somewhat more than he had originally intended to spend. Greenough also had a cameo of Mrs. Gilmore's head, taken from his bust of her, cut in shell for Gilmore, and purchased several items for Gilmore's collection.

The recipients of the remaining four letters by Greenough in the Boston Public Library were Charles Folsom (1794-1872), Joseph Green Cogswell (1786-1871), a Mr. Belmanno, who has not been identified, and Rufus Wilmot Griswold (1815-57). Folsom was a librarian, teacher, and editor, whom Greenough first knew when Folsom was a teacher at Harvard and Greenough was a student there. In 1843 Folsom was corresponding secretary of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in Boston, of which organization Greenough was elected a Fellow in May of that year. Cogswell, who was also a librarian, teacher, and editor, was likewise first known to Greenough at Harvard. When Greenough was a student, Cogswell was a tutor and librarian. At that time Cogswell lent Greenough drawings and casts, proffered criticism, and did more than anyone else to help him settle on his profession. The engraving made of Greenough's bust of Lafayette about 1834 was dedicated to Cogswell. Griswold, the well-known author and editor, was in 1851 acting as secretary of a group of friends of James Fenimore Cooper, who had died the preceding summer, organized for the purpose of erecting a monument to his memory. They considered having Greenough execute the work, but nothing came of the project. Greenough's

proposals for it were set forth in his essay "The Cooper Monument" in his *Travels, Observations, and Experience of a Yankee Stonecutter*.

The complete texts of the nine letters are herewith printed for the first time:

Florence. April 25th. 1830.<sup>5</sup>

My dear Sir.

I seize my first moment of leisure to inform you of what my prospects are with relation to the objects you desire me to send you. I have in my eye a good picture or two which I may, I think, make a good bargain of, but I am obliged to be extremely cautious. You know enough of picture-dealers to understand why I am so, and, if I am somewhat slower than you could wish, will, I doubt not, attribute it to my regard for your true interest.

I have by me a fine copy of a celebrated landscape of Salvator's<sup>6</sup> which was made by a nephew of the famous Sabatelli.<sup>7</sup> I gave only \$10 for this picture and was yesterday offered double my money by an American gentleman. Mr. Peale<sup>8</sup> borrowed it of me to finish a copy which he had commenced, of the same picture. I shall enclose it to you and if on the sight of it you overcome your aversion to copies far enough to pay me what I gave for it, it shall be yours. I bought it with an eye to your drawing-room before I received your last letter. Should you not care to have it I will thank you to send it to Boston, with a note of directions to my brother<sup>9</sup> which note will be enclosed in the package.

With regard to the statue you honour me by ordering I have thought best to make a figure of a girl, about nine years of age, for adult forms on a small scale produce but a mean effect unless decidedly in miniature. I have made severall sketches but have not yet entirely pleased myself in the combination of the qualities I wish to unite in it. It shall be my care to transmit to you a small drawing of what I fix on as soon as I shall have established the composition. I have written to Mr Grant<sup>10</sup> that I shall draw on him for \$250 when the clay is put up and for \$300 when the marble is consigned to him — making the price rather below than above the ordinary cost of similar works by artists of a respectable standing. Should this sum, however, exceed what you thought of laying out, I shall beg you to reduce it to \$400 by subtracting \$150 from the receipts of the exhibition. I know that in America the value of statues is often underated and I fear being thought to exact too high prices. Hitherto I have scarcely supported my own shop and

have once or twice been rather anxious on account of the state of my funds but, all that is past. Mr Cooper's group will be in New York in the course of four months.<sup>11</sup> I have six or seven other commissions on hand and am in the best health.<sup>12</sup> I have succeeded so well in a bust of Washington in pleasing my countrymen<sup>13</sup> that I think of getting up a statue of him which I could finish by degrees and which when done would I doubt not, pay my debt in America and give me assistance in my art besides.

Do not imagine, my dear sir, that I am uneasy under the obligation which I feel toward the gentlemen who assisted me, no sir; I shall carry that to my grave with pleasure, but the debt, I confess, I think daily of and the brightest day I have long seen will be that when I shall be able to refund what has been advanced me. In the mean while I trust that generous treatment of me was not thrown away. I hope, sir, and I believe, that I shall become useful to my nation as an artist and that the day will arrive when young Americans, devoting themselves to the art, will find in my study that instruction in the rudiments of Sculpture, to obtain which I have travelled so far, and have spent so much time and money. Begging to be remembered to Mrs. Gilmor and her sister

I remain dear Sir, Yours,

Horatio Greenough

Florence. Sept 7th. 1830.

My Dear Sir

I beg you will be under no uneasiness with regard to the miscarriage of your letter of credit — at least on my account. It is true that had your orders reached me without delay I had long before this despatched them one and all. I perceive that you also have never recd one or two of my last letters . . . [under] date of June 12th 1830 I recd [a letter from you?] from Mess. Grant and Pillans this morning. On the rect of your first letter (Oct. 9, 1829 date) I wrote to Mr Grant asking if he had had no notice of the letters sent me or the credit given me. He answered in the negative authorizing me to draw for \$100 immediately and very properly requesting to see the letter in which you mention the credit. He had never before had any intimation of the thing and in fact I believe it was not until very lately that he rec'd your instructions owing doubtless to miscarriage of one of your letters and delay at Gibraltar of the other.

After reading your first letter I answered you mentioning the having sent the bust<sup>14</sup> — my having recd your orders — and pro-

posing as a subject for a statue for you the dead figure of Medora from Byrons Corsair. I stated that I could do the figure for 500\$ and I mentioned to you the difficulty of procuring authenticated works of the good masters at any thing like a reasonable price. I delayed setting up the figure of Medora lest you might not wish to spend so much money and I looked around very diligently for a picture worthy of you. I have found a portrait of Salvator Rosa which needs no authentication for the price of 100\$ and a Van der Werf<sup>15</sup> representing cupids bringing the wild boar, bound, to Venus for 250\$. Neither of these pictures did I dare to purchase, the first because as a portrait I feared you might think it dear and the second because the price really seemed to myself exorbitant. I would if I had the money have bought both these pictures on my own account. In fact with a small capital here nothing would be easier than to spend a thousand or two of Dollars to great profit.

I am not sanguine in my hopes of obtaining any thing original of Cellinis for you. I had 2 small silver bas releifs offered me the other day for little more than their weight of bullion, one of which was struck with a die the other wrought with the hammer and then chased but as they were interesting merely as shewing the method and as they were of the ignorant manner and bad taste of the last century I neglected them. I shall search diligently for the boy you mention in one of the Madonnas and should I not be able to find it I shall compose one myself with the same view viz. — to be useful in bearing a lamp or vase of flowers.<sup>16</sup>

I have drawn on you for the sum of 250\$. If I can get your statue through for that amount I shall be most happy, if not I shall draw for the remainder of the sum to which you have limited my credit. I carry on a great many undertakings — unassisted, alone — I live with the greatest economy and I only seek the opportunity of employment and honour and a decent livelihood. I have lived a very active life since I have been here, yet so expensive are the operations of my art that I have sunk 1000\$ in these 2 years together with all the prices of my works. In some instances the price given me has barely paid the marble and clay and moulding, and yet have the gentlemen who ordered seemed to think I made them pay dearly. Yet I am not discouraged or disheartened. My strength has increased with the increasing demand for it. My health is excellent and I yet hope to repay in some sort the debt of gratitude to yourself and some other friends in America.

With regard to the pedestals, unless you wish to have them richly ornamented which I presume from your silence about it



you do not, they may be made in Philadelphia or Baltimore even quite as well as at Carrara and come to you much cheaper. The only difficulty is the form, which they will execute to the order and draught of an Architect without any difficulty. I prefer myself the truncated tuscan column with the torus of the base ornamented to any other pedestal for busts or small light statues. Lest I should not be clear I will make a slight scetch and enclose it.

Begging that in case I may have made too high a charge for your statue you will inform me of it, I assure you that you may do so without any risk of wounding or creating any unpleasant feeling on my part. I know you too well to attribute to any other than the justest and soundest reasons any such rem[onstra]nce from you. I remain Dear Sir

With compliments to Mrs Gilmor and family, [etc.]

P. S. I have despatched through Mess. Grant, Pillans & Co a case containing the copy of Salvator which I before mentioned and a small painting on marble which I bought for \$2-50cts and which was part of the Torregiani collection.<sup>17</sup> I thought it had considerable spirit and as such curiosities are to be found in all the collections I thought you might like it.

Florence, 13th Jany 1832.

My Dear Sir,

Your letter of the date 16th Novem, 1831, reached me a few days since and gratified me more than I can express. I had felt anxious from the moment I had purchased the Albano<sup>18</sup> for I know how many requisites a picture must have to find favour with one who has a feast of varied styles continually before him. Your letter has removed that anxiety — you are pleased — and I am easy. I assure you that I shall hereafter follow your advice of consulting some more experienced judge, for I confess I saw no trace of restoration upon the work nor did Mr Morse.<sup>19</sup> But neither he nor I have had any thing like your experience in old pictures. An engraver here wished to undertake that picture but learning that it was for sale desisted, fearing it might leave the country before he had finished his plate.

I shall not fail to remember daily your wishes both as respects old masters and the Cellinis and Fiamingos,<sup>20</sup> though from what experience I have, I am not sanguine in my hopes of finding either of the latter. Small bronzes have severall times been brought to me as Cellini's; but whether his or not they were not worthy of him and I have always made it a rule to pay for excellence ad-



dressed to the eye rather than the ear. For a work of true beauty must have been done by some good artist or other. I have now in my eye a copy of Peter the Martyr of Titian by Tintoretto; a grand original rendered with a tact, feeling and impetuosity of execution rarely met with. I shall go as high as \$50 or \$60 and I confess to you with shame that it was offered to me before the learned saw it and while its smoke and dirt obscured it for \$30. I had not the eagle vision to see through the cloud which obscured it. Morse hankered for it and Cole<sup>21</sup> thinks it a masterpiece in it's way.

What you do me the honour to say of my groupe<sup>22</sup> consoles me. My dear sir, I thank you with all my heart. I find in your satisfaction with that work a guaranty that you will not be disappointed with your own statue. You are right in supposing I had recourse to Nature for my forms. I not only modelled but chisselled every part of them from the life. Of the heads of Raphael I had finished drawings but only a hasty sketch of the remainder. In fact the bodies and limbs in the original picture are far below Raphael's usual perfection of design. If you have seen the notices of my groupe in the newspapers<sup>23</sup> you will conceive that it must have been gratifying to me to read one comment on it dictated by true feeling and real taste and that too by one who is so soon to judge whether I have done that taste justice in a work for himself. To have made another copy of any work whatever would have been, just now, morally impossible. Had I let my imagination sleep and become the mere mouth piece of another inventor in the work,<sup>24</sup> you would have been the sufferer. Besides, those amiable ones who amuse themselves with the fair fame of their neighbours would not have allowed to slip an opportunity of attacking me as a man who soared on the wings of Italian masters, because Nature had only given him his own sorry legs to move withal.

Santarelli<sup>25</sup> who made a model for you in Florence is long since dead, nor is there any one to replace him. It is not the artist alone which is lost, the art is neglected. That branch is no longer taught at the academy and since the academy here becomes the depository of art, any thing overlooked by it dies at once. I can have the cameo cut in Rome, but I cannot answer for the resemblance. They do every thing better than portrait, the experiment however will cost but little.

The Medora has been hasting since I went to Paris.<sup>26</sup> The points are taken and I can speak most favourably of the marble<sup>27</sup>; still you are aware that blemishes sometimes come out under the chisel which are not portrayed by the gradine. I beg you will imagine

me most busily employed on that figure from this time untill it is finished. To say how long it will be would be to measure what I have found to have no rule. I work with much greater facility than formerly, but as this figure is my first own poetical work and as I may not ever have such another opportunity, you will permit me I know to do my utmost. If I am not mistaken, the head alone will be worth the cherubs.

If my accounts err not, I have drawn on you for the sum of \$471 1/19 for the statue. My wish was to get the statue done for \$500. [I fear], however, that I shall be obliged to call on you for 500 francs<sup>28</sup> more and should any thing occur to require still farther expence I may go to the amount I formerly mentioned to you, \$700, always with the understanding, however, that its cost to you is to be \$500. I do not fear for the exhibition. My groupe if as successful elsewhere as in Boston will net me 6 or 700 dollars.<sup>29</sup>

I have at present an idea of returning to America with your statue.<sup>30</sup> I am anxious to see the country and extend my connections. I hope particularly to interest some of the gentlemen connected with Government, with the Fine Arts. Should I have made any mistake in summing the amount I have received, I beg you will inform me of it at once. I am willing to be corrected by your accts for though I keep my own with care, my occasional press of business requires that my brother<sup>31</sup> sometimes shld attend to them and as mistakes may arise I mention this.

I am Dear Sir, [etc.]

P.S. Owing to an attack of ague which I am at present suffering from this letter is copied by my brother from my rough-draught book. This circumstance must be my apology for occasional errors.<sup>32</sup>

Florence. June 10th 1832.

Dear Sir

Your kind letter of Feby 29 has lain unanswered several days owing to the press of my affairs. The letter of which you speak as having been enclosed to Mr Harper<sup>33</sup> and as having been probably lost, was duly rec'd, though it would seem that my answer to it has not been equally fortunate.

I feel the highest gratification in learning that your confidence in my ability has not abated and I thank you for the useful proof you give me of your esteem by advising me for the future. I think with you that he who abandons the principles of study which have raised him to the execution of important works deserts himself.



*Greenough's Statue of George Washington*





Surely it would seem impossible that a successful experiment should be abandoned merely on account of its success; yet my observation tells me that it is but too often the case and justifies your caution. Besides convinced as I have always been of this truth I shall confess to you that what you have said by recalling my attention to the subject and adding the seal of your authority to the conclusions of my own reason, has strengthened me not a little.

I have lately purchased several articles for you which I think will please you and am only waiting until a small case is filled to send them. The profile of Mrs Gilmor in shell, was at last finished by the kind assistance of Mr Cole, and though not so fine as I could wish, is the best that could be procured.

I am giving the finishing touches to the Medora. This statue pleases here and has attracted many English to my studio. You will soon judge of it yourself. I shall ship it to New York or Boston as occasion may offer — for opportunities at Leghorn for the Southern cities are rare. I should be highly gratified if you would allow the statue to be exhibited first in Boston — I think I am sure of its reception there. I of course am still more desirous that you should be *perfectly* satisfied so that should you prefer its being transported immediately to Baltimore you will I am sure do me the favour to advise my brother Alfred Greenough to that effect. I have directed him to order a pedestal made for the statue should you be willing to have it shewn at Boston.

With regard to the receipts of the exhibition, though I am not sanguine, still I think I am sure of being able by means of it to repay you *agreeably to my promise all I have drawn on you for, over and above the sum of \$500*. I do not of course include the price of pictures or other works purchased for you, though God knows my Dear Sir I would fain fill your collection with chef' d' oeuvres. Nor should I feel that I had done more than my duty toward you. You took me by the hand when I was inexperienced and poor and in ill health. I am not a man to forget these kindnesses. I have hitherto been silent because I have been so poor ever since I have been abroad that I looked with a suspicious eye on my own gratitude lest it might seem to have somewhat of hope for the future as well as of love for the past. But now that I find myself commencing a career of profitable employment for Government<sup>34</sup> with enough of honour if I succeed to satisfy any ambition, I may speak to you more freely. I may beg you to believe me yours not in the language of compliment but in that of truth and believe me dear Sir the power of saying this is not among the least pleasing con-



sequencies of the improvement of my fortune.

I have been baulked lately of 2 fine pictures for you owing to the news of my commission's having taken wind here among the dealers. I am sure they think I am buying for myself. I shall be obliged hereafter to make use of another in making my bargains.

Desiring you will present my respectful compliment to Mrs Gilmor as also to Mr Harper and his amiable family I remain Dear Sir [etc.].<sup>35</sup>

Florence, Nov 28, 1835.

My Dear Sir

I received this morning your very kind letter of Septr 24th and am not a little relieved at learning that you have at length seen Medora and that on the whole you are not disappointed. Your generous effort in my behalf is as your conduct toward me always has been worthy all gratitude. I am sensible of the sacrifice you must have made in so long denying yourself a sight of a statue so long expected and of which rumour had already spoken favorably. Accept dear Sir my thanks for all this kindness.

I am mortified and grieved that there should be any difficulty in placing the figure. I think that if I were with you I could contrive a place for it, but perhaps you have more experience in arranging these objects than I have. I beg you will remember what I formerly said I was willing to do in case the figure was not in all respects what you wished. I am still perfectly willing either to take the statue off your hands or to replace it by one to which you shall not have the same objections. I am now finishing in my moments of leisure a figure of Love Captive<sup>36</sup> in which I am embodying a conception of Petrarch in the "Trionfo della Castita." His godship stands chained to a rock on which the bird of wisdom stands sentinel. His arrows lie broken at his feet, his hands are crossed behind him in the attitude of helplessness. In his face I have attempted to mingle lurking mischief with shame. I think it my best figure thus far and should you after seeing it wish to exchange Medora for it it shall be yours. I think it possible that Mrs White<sup>37</sup> of Florida who wishes something of mine would take the Medora in case you should be willing to part with her.<sup>38</sup>

I have at length brought the model of Washington to a close. I shall continue to caress it until New Years when it will be cast. I ought perhaps to say to you what I think of my success but I will leave it to yourself to judge me when you see it. I will content myself with assuring you that I have done my utmost. You are

evidently not aware that Government did not accede to my proposition of sending the model to Washington.<sup>39</sup> The responsibility falls entirely on me and I am ready to take it. I have acted conscientiously. At all events it will probably sooner or later give way to a more successful effort of some more [torn] artist. I trust that a few may be found to approve the course I have taken. I look forward with confidence to your support at least for my intentions. Be assured that the many proofs I have had of your esteem are a balance for all the mortifications I have met with in my arduous profession. Begging to be respectfully remembered to Mrs Gilmor I remain Dear Sir [etc.].

Wilmington Del. July 8th 4[3]<sup>40</sup>

Charles Folsom Esqr.

Dear Sir

I have delayed forwarding the enclosed<sup>41</sup> with a hope that I should be able to meet you before leaving the States once more. The extreme press of my engagements since my arrival in the country has kept me always at Washington and when I have been able to visit Boston, it has been for so short a time, that I have been necessarily engrossed by my agenda and my family. It would have given me the greatest pleasure to have met you once more and to have spoken with you not only of the past, but of the present and of the *mighty* future. When I look at this country, methinks that I see in every *man* the basis on which a future mass is to stand. If this view of our relation to posterity is almost alarming by the responsibility it involves, it is also gratifying to our pride and cheering to our toils.

I yet cherish the hope of being able to visit Boston before I sail. If I should be disappointed I pray you to accept this assurance of the respect and affection which I have always cherished for your character and person and I pray you to believe that my heart is with you in your labors and that I [will] always regard as a chief pleasure the opportunity [torn] way of serving you or any friend of yours.

I leave my country once more cheered in the belief that its institutions are working in the main agreeably to the intentions of their founders and eager in my humble walk to leave some trace of my birth right as a citizen.

Very respectfully Dear Sir [etc.].

Florence. Sept 26. 1850.

My Dear Mr Cogswell

I have recieved your letter enclosing that of Mr Belmanno — and have immediately taken steps to secure what he wishes. In the meanwhile I write to inform him that I am busy for him.

A difficulty presents itself. Bartolini<sup>42</sup> never made but one statue for the Duke of Devonshire which was a Bacchante lying prone, with her head raised, a tambourine in her hand and a serpent twined around her arm. This figure you will remark corresponds in some respects with that described by Mr Belmanno but it has occurred to me that at Chatsworth there may be a *Psyche abbandonata* in a somewhat similar position. However this may be I will send an outline of the only statue made by Bartolini for the Duke.

As regards the groupe of the 3 graces after Raffaello — I am almost certain that Goupil in Broadway<sup>43</sup> can furnish Forster's<sup>44</sup> print of it published in 42 or 43 and which is really a lovely print.

Mrs Greenough gave birth to a daughter about 15 days since and both she and her infant are doing well. I have now 3 children.<sup>45</sup>

I confess to you that I look forward with anxiety to the future partly on account of the complications of European politics and partly from the fear that my being so long out of sight will put me equally out of mind with the public of America. My groupe<sup>46</sup> is nearly done after the most tormenting delays for marble owing to contracts with the Emperor of Russia. I have made a Venus which I am anxious to put into marble<sup>47</sup> and I have also 2 or 3 bas reliefs which I intend to get done in the course of a few months.<sup>48</sup>

I have made all the studies for an equestrian Statue of Washington and hope when my groupe is seen to obtain an order for that work.<sup>49</sup>

After being so long employed on works of a high order it is not possible for me to play the shopman and cut fancy work for furniture or cultivate the vogue of the day. I have chosen my path and if the state of the national taste does not afford me support I must wait and arm myself with courage for the consequences.

I am happy to learn that you are busy in congenial occupations and I am sure that wherever you are your influence tends to expand and elevate the taste and to give a good direction to the rapid growth of that American mind which for good as for evil is destined to shape the future of civilization.

Begging to be kindly remembered to our common friends

I am Dear Mr Cogswell [etc.].

Florence. Octr 29th 1850.

My Dear Mr Belmanno

I enclose herewith the drawing of the statue executed by Bartolini for the Duke of Devonshire and which is now at Chatsworth. Our mutual friend Mr Cogswell will have communicated to you my misgivings respecting it. I have thought as the expence was small that you would rather that I would send it forward at all hazards rather than verify the matter by letter which would cost nearly as much in postage. This drawing is by Mr Nocchi,<sup>50</sup> a young engraver of promise and costs you 5\$ which you can remit at your convenience to my brother in law Mr Thos. B. Curtis of Boston.

What you say of the difficulty of procuring a drawing at Chatsworth does not surprize me. You are aware that the English idea of property is very exclusive and perhaps in regard to nothing more than in this matter of rarities and curiosities.

I am about to finish a colossal work for the Gov't which has almost exclusively occupied me for thirteen years past and shall probably come to America the ensuing year.<sup>51</sup> I shall make bold to present my claim to your acquaintance and that of your gifted lady, and if in the meanwhile I can as resident here be of service to you or to your friends, you will do me a real pleasure by commanding me

Very respectfully [etc.].

Wednesday. 19th Nov. 1851.  
Washington DC.

Rev. Rufus W. Griswold  
New-York.

Dear Sir

Instead of writing you I should have today left this in order to meet the committee tomorrow evening, but that I am detained by business commenced at the Treasury Dep't and not yet finished.

It has occurred to me that your committee may wish before taking other steps about the Monument, to get rid of any embarrassing debts that may annoy the family of Mr Cooper. If so and you see no impropriety in my so doing, I would wish to subscribe \$50 in the name of "A friend to the family" for that object.

I have seen the operations of Mr Mills<sup>52</sup> in bronze and have no doubt, after what I have there seen that your committee may decide upon that material without danger, and without going out of the country for workmen.



I notice in the Natl Intelligencer an article recommending this city as the proper site of a monument to Mr Cooper.<sup>53</sup> I think Sir that there is an insuperable objection to Washington as the site of any monument of which the *preservation* is important. There is neither respect for such objects as public property, nor interest in them as works of art.<sup>54</sup>

The Mannekin-Pis of Brussels<sup>55</sup> which I take to be the lowest example of a European monument has more care and more efficient care taken of it than all the works at Washington on which so much money has been expended. I make no complaint of any one — I know not who is to blame. I suspect that this is an example of duties which are said to be everybodys business. I find the capitol with its pictures and its statuary under the safe keeping of an Irishman one Easby, whom I should not trust for one hour in the *presence* of any work of art without having him watched. I speak only in reference to his total ignorance, which in matters relating to art is Vandalism. Begging Dear Sir that this letter may remain a confidential communication to yourself and through you to the committee I am

Yours faithfully

Horatio Greenough

## Notes

1. The fullest account of Greenough's life is Henry T. Tuckerman, *A Memorial of Horatio Greenough* (New York, 1853).

2. New York, 1852. Reprinted by Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, Gainesville, Florida, 1958. Most of Greenough's esthetic essays have been collected in *Form and Function*, edited by Harold A. Small (University of California Press, 1947; paper, 1957).

3. The only printed collection of Greenough's letters is *Letters by Horatio Greenough to his Brother*, edited by Frances B. Greenough (Boston, 1887). Manuscripts or printed texts of over two hundred other letters by him exist.

4. For a complete account of the Greenough-Gilmor relation, see Nathalia Wright, "Horatio Greenough, Boston Sculptor, and Robert Gilmor, Jr., his Baltimore Patron," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, LI (March 1956), 1-13. Greenough's letter to Gilmor dated April 1, 1839, not located at the time that article was printed, is in the possession of the present writer. The *Medora*, also not located at that time, is in the possession of Mrs. Sumner Parker of Baltimore.



5. This letter and that dated Jan. 13, 1832 are, except for the signature, in the handwriting of Greenough's brother Henry, who was at this period in Florence. Henry Greenough (1807-83) was an architect, occasional painter, and writer.

6. Salvator Rosa (1615-73), Italian landscape painter, poet, musician, actor, and revolutionary, in great vogue during the early romantic period.

7. The uncle was presumably Luigi Sabatelli (1772-1850), a talented nineteenth-century Tuscan painter, professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in Milan from 1808 until his death.

8. Rembrandt Peale (1778-1860), American painter, then in Florence.

9. Alfred Greenough (1809-51), Boston merchant.

10. Presumably John Grant, of Grant, Pillans, and Co., shipping and exchange firm at Leghorn.

11. The small marble group entitled *The Chanting Cherubs*, a reproduction of a detail from Raphael's *Madonna del Baldacchino*, which Greenough executed for James Fenimore Cooper. The work was not shipped to the United States until the following year.

12. Only three works from this period are known to have been executed. Greenough went to Rome in 1825, at the conclusion of his senior year at Harvard, but was forced to return home in 1827 because of illness.

13. A copy of this bust was purchased by James J. Roosevelt of New York, and one of a new model of it by Commodore James Biddle of Philadelphia. A bust of Washington by Greenough, presumably a copy of one of these models, is in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

14. The bust of Mrs. Gilmor, put in marble in Italy.

15. Probably Adriann Van der Werff (1659-1722), historical, genre, and portrait painter.

16. Gilmor was charmed with the subject of Cooper's group and tried to find one comparable.

17. The Torrigiani family was prominent in Florentine commercial, political, and social circles.

18. Francesco Albani (1578-1660) of Bologna, called "The Anacreon of Painting" because of his fondness of treating mythological subjects on small canvasses.

19. Samuel F. B. Morse (1791-1872), in Florence in 1830 and 1831.

20. A general name among Italians for Flemish artists.

21. Thomas Cole (1801-48), American landscape painter, then in Florence.

22. *The Chanting Cherubs*. In the margin of the paragraph Gilmor wrote: "This relates to the two 'Chanting Cherubs' at the bottom of one of Raphael's finest paintings, which Greenough copied in marble for Fenimore Cooper and which are very beautifully executed."

23. *The Chanting Cherubs* excited criticism in Boston when it was exhibited there in the spring of 1831, because the figures were without fig leaves. An apron was temporarily tied around them.

24. Presumably Greenough meant — if he had executed a figure like the one proposed by Gilmor, mentioned in his letter of September 7, 1830.

25. Giovanni Antonio Santarelli (1758-1826), gem cutter, wax modeller, medallion maker, and sculptor, was a professor at the Academy of Fine Arts in Florence.

26. Greenough was in Paris during the fall of 1831, chiefly occupied in modelling a bust of Lafayette and also visiting with Cooper and Morse, who were there.

27. The process of taking points, commonly employed by sculptors in the nineteenth century, consisted of marking on the marble block various points corresponding to points of various depths on the model and drilling to these depths in preparation for the first rough cutting of the marble.

28. Francesconi --- Italian coins equivalent at this period to approximately one dollar.

29. *The Chanting Cherubs* was exhibited only in Boston and New York. Greenough realized about \$400, most of it in Boston.

30. Greenough abandoned the idea chiefly because in February 1832 Congress commissioned him to execute the statue of Washington for the Capitol.

31. Henry Greenough.

32. The postscript is in Greenough's hand.

33. Charles Carroll Harper (1802-37), grandson of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Maryland, and husband of Mrs. Gilmore's niece. He was secretary of the American legation in Paris when he died.

34. Greenough alludes to the commission for the Washington statue.

35. Beneath Greenough's signature Gilmore wrote: "It was exhibited in Boston and profitably for Greenough. I tried the academy in New York with Trumbull [The American Academy of Fine Arts, whose president then was John Trumbull] and failed in getting someone to undertake its exhibition; I then applied to Rubens Peale who had the museum in Broadway opposite the Park [Peale's Museum; Rubens was a son of Charles Willson Peale], but I couldn't induce him to undertake it. [Word indecipherable] him, I applied to Earle to have it exhibited in his and Sully's rooms [James Earle, carver and gilder, and Thomas Sully, portrait painter in Philadelphia] and failing them also, tried McMurtrie [James McMurtrie, art patron in Philadelphia] to get it exhibited in the large gallery where Haydon's [Benjamin Robert Haydon, the English painter] picture was, but no one would risk the exhibition though I offered them one half the receipts. When I was obliged to bring it to Baltimore I got a person in Market Street to exhibit it for a share of the receipts. I gave Greenough the rest when he expressed himself well satisfied. RG"

36. The work is in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

37. Ellen Adair White (1801-84), then wife of Col. Joseph White, territorial delegate from Florida to Congress; after White's death, she married Dr. Theophilus Beatty. She was known as a great belle. Greenough executed a bust of her, which is in the Mary Buie Museum at Oxford, Mississippi.

38. Gilmore kept the *Medora*.

39. Greenough had wished to secure public criticism of the design before putting it in marble. The design had raised objections chiefly on account of the seated posture and nudity of the figure.

40. Greenough came to the United States in 1842 to see about the proper placing of his statue of Washington. The light in the rotunda of the Capitol being too poor, he secured the permission of Congress to have it moved outside to the Capitol grounds. In the spring of 1843 he and his wife went to

Wilmington, where they intended to remain while the statue was moved. For reasons of Mrs. Greenough's health, however, they returned to Europe in July.

41. Presumably the letter Greenough wrote Folsom on June 2, 1843, acknowledging the announcement of his election to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. This letter is in the possession of the present writer.

42. Lorenzo Bartolini (1777-1850), the leading Tuscan sculptor of his day. Greenough studied with him in Florence. He executed *La Baccante Giacente* about 1824 for William George Spencer, sixth Duke of Devonshire (1790-1858). The family mansion of the Dukes of Devonshire was Chatsworth House in Derbyshire.

43. Goupil, Vibert, and Co., New York print-sellers.

44. François Forster (1790-1872), Swiss engraver. *The Three Graces*, after Raphael, was one of his most famous prints.

45. Greenough married in 1837 Louisa Ingersoll Gore (1812-91) of Boston. Their three children were Henry (after his father's death named Horatio) Saltonstall (1845-1916), Mary Louise (1848-54), and Charlotte (1850-c.1918).

46. *The Rescue*. It was commissioned in 1837 and finished in 1851.

47. Not put in marble, it was broken in transit to the United States in 1853.

48. Presumably including those entitled *The Genius of Italy* and *The Genius of Poesy*. Neither has survived. A photograph of the former is in the possession of the present writer.

49. In the spring of 1852, after his return to the United States, Greenough and Henry Kirke Brown undertook a bronze equestrian statue of Washington to stand in Union Square in New York. The partnership was dissolved, however, and Brown alone executed the work.

50. Possibly Giorgio Nocchi, who sold pictures and prints in Florence.

51. Greenough made his permanent residence in the United States in the fall of 1851.

52. Clark Mills (1810-83), American sculptor.

53. It was Judge W. A. Duer who at a New York meeting suggested that the monument for Cooper be erected in Washington.

54. Greenough was disturbed by the neglect of his statue of Washington. After it was moved out of the Capitol, a temporary wooden shelter was erected over it, but the plans for a permanent building were abandoned and the shelter was torn down in 1846. Exposure had damaged the marble, and the shrubbery and the lamps around the figure had been badly placed. Greenough expressed his objection to these circumstances, and to others relating to works of art in the city, in a pamphlet printed in December 1851, *Aesthetics at Washington*; it was reprinted in his *Travels, Observations, and Experience of a Yankee Stonecutter*.

55. Manneken-Pis, the famous figure of the naked boy producing a fountain, the work of François Dequesnoy in 1619.

## Thoreau's Fame Abroad

By WALTER HARDING

HENRY DAVID THOREAU was generally neglected by the American literary critics and historians of his lifetime and, in fact, throughout the nineteenth century. He was "a prophet without honor in his own country" until fairly recent years. Now there is rarely a protesting voice when he is rated as one of our most outstanding authors. Turning to England one finds a somewhat different pattern. As has so often been the case, British critics were much quicker to recognize Thoreau's genius, although often there were dissenters there too.

In 1849, when it was published in Boston, a few copies of *A Week* were sent to the firm of John Chapman in London for distribution. The book received only two reviews. The *Athenaeum* termed it one of the "worst offshoots of Carlyle and Emerson." But the *Westminster Review* commented, "Notwithstanding occasional attempts at fine writing, and some rather long-winded disquisitions upon religion, literature, and other matters, — sometimes naturally arising from the incidents of the voyage, sometimes lugged in apparently without rhyme or reason, — the book is an agreeable book." Thoreau had complimentary copies sent to a few prominent Englishmen, and one, James Anthony Froude, wrote to him in thanks, "In your book . . . I see hope for the coming world."

In 1854, when *Walden* was published, again a few copies were sent to England. George Eliot gave it a brief but favorable notice in the *Westminster Review* and six months later wrote her friend Miss Sara Hennell, "I thought 'Walden' . . . a charming book, from its freshness and sincerity, as well as for its bits of description." *Chamber's Journal* printed an unfavorable notice almost entirely cribbed from the American reviews in *Putnam's* and the *Knickerbocker*, but adding, "The natural sights and sounds of the woods, as described by Mr. Thoreau, form much pleasanter reading than his vague and scarcely comprehensible social theories." The anonymous article "An American Rousseau" in the *Saturday Review* is an



excellent example of the ability of the British to understand and appreciate Thoreau long before his own countrymen did. Reviewing the first edition of *Excursions*, it analyzes the essays therein, recognizing the scientific value of "The Succession of Forest Trees" and pointing out that in such pieces as "Autumnal Tints" Thoreau is not "seeing sermons in stones" but suggesting a "significant parallelism between the mind and heart of man and the economy of nature."

Mabel Collins, writing on "Thoreau, Hermit and Thinker" thought "some of his works are better worth studying than the more elaborate works of the popular professors of philosophy." But Robert Louis Stevenson, in his notorious "Henry David Thoreau: His Character and Opinions" declared, "In one word, Thoreau was a skulker." Some years later Gilbert P. Coleman remarked in the *American Dial*, "Of those opinions of Thoreau which have evidently been based on insufficient information, the most incomplete, unsatisfactory, inadequate, though possibly the cleverest and most brilliant, is that of Robert Louis Stevenson." A. H. Japp, the British biographer of Thoreau, made haste to suggest to Stevenson that he had misunderstood Thoreau's character. In a later preface to his essay, Stevenson retracted much that he had said, commenting, "Here is an admirable instance of the 'point of view' forced throughout, and of too earnest reflection on imperfect facts . . . I have scarce written ten sentences since I was introduced to him, but his influence might be somewhere detected by a close observer." But it was the earlier essay which won the wider hearing.

Although the British publishers imported American editions of Thoreau's works for many years, in 1886 the first true English edition of *Walden* appeared in Camelot Classics. Other volumes followed rapidly, so that by 1900 there were at least twenty editions of Thoreau's books in the British Isles. Typical of comments of the period are Havelock Ellis's "Thoreau has heightened for us the wildness of Nature"; W. H. Hudson's "*Walden* . . . I should be inclined to regard as the one golden book in any century of best books"; and Will H. Dircks's "Thoreau's is a rare and remarkable spirit."

It was, however, the Fabians and early Labour Party members who really popularized Thoreau in England. Robert



Blatchford, whose *Merric England* with a sale of two million copies was the first Labour Party best-seller, began his book with the injunction that if his readers first read *Walden* they would more easily understand his book, and confessed that he slept with *Walden* under his pillow. Many of the local units of the Labour Party were called Walden Clubs. Inexpensive paperbound editions of *Walden* and *Civil Disobedience* were distributed with the party's blessing. William Archer, the translator of Ibsen, lived from 1890 to 1895 at a cottage near Ockham in Surrey which he called "Walden." Edward Carpenter confessed that *Walden* served "to make me uncomfortable for some years," and frequently quoted from it in his *Towards Democracy*.

*The Eagle and the Serpent*, a "little magazine" published in London from 1898 to 1902, was "dedicated to the philosophy of life enunciated by Nietzsche, Emerson, Stirner, Thoreau and Goethe." In Ireland, inspired by his father's reading of *Walden*, William Butler Yeats wrote one of his most beloved poems "The Lake Isle of Innisfree." But Arthur Rickett in *The Vagabond in Literature* thought that Thoreau's reputation was being harmed by the over-zealous attempts of his followers to defend him from any and all charges of wrong-doing.

The centenary of Thoreau's birth was celebrated in London in 1917 at a public meeting at which W. H. Hudson proclaimed that "when the bicentenary comes around . . . he will be regarded as . . . one without master or mate . . . and who was in the foremost ranks of the prophets." The *London Bookman* devoted a whole issue to Thoreau, including a long reminiscent essay by Ralph Waldo Emerson's son Edward.

In the 1920's H. W. Nevinson thought *Walden* "the most beautiful product that ever sprang from American soil," and H. M. Tomlinson confessed, "I suppose Thoreau has done as much as any other writer to give my mind a cast . . . There have been reviewers who have hinted at origins for my books, but not one of them has ever noticed that I must have brooded long on Walden Pond." But Llewellyn Powys dismissed Thoreau as "neither a profound thinker nor a great writer."

More recent comments on Thoreau include Somerset Maugham's, "The interest of Walden must depend on the taste of the read-

er. For my part, I read it without boredom, but without exhilaration"; Cartwright Timms thought Thoreau has a pertinent message for us "in this age, when so many people are content to live their lives at second-hand"; Charles Morgan, the novelist, regarded Thoreau as "a man completely undaunted by the pressure of collectivism, in the highest sense an Uncommon Man, whose teaching is even more closely applicable to our age than it was to his"; Hubert Woodford maintained, "The Philosophy of Thoreau may be regarded as a corrective and a tonic for much of the artificiality of average human life"; and for Holbrook Jackson, "He becomes what many men entangled in the world would like to be, but which, lacking even his negative courage, they can never be."

PERHAPS the outstanding fact in any consideration of Thoreau's influence outside of England is that it is primarily a twentieth-century phenomenon—even chiefly a phenomenon of the period since World War II. This is especially true of Latin America. To be sure, Jose Marti, the late nineteenth-century Cuban radical, was familiar with Thoreau's writings and mentioned him occasionally in his essays, but he stirred up no widespread interest in Thoreau among his countrymen. *Walden* was first translated into Spanish by Julio Melina y Vedia in Buenos Aires in 1945. A much more adequate version by Justo Garate appeared in Buenos Aires in 1949 and was sufficiently popular to require a second, revised edition before the year was out. Previously a selection from Thoreau's journal and essays, translated by Horacio E. Roque, had appeared in Buenos Aires in 1937. And a translation by Ernesto Montenegro of "Civil Disobedience" was published in Santiago, Chile, in 1949. A Portuguese translation of *Walden* by E. C. Caldas was printed in Rio de Janeiro in 1953. No editions of Thoreau's works seem to have appeared in either Spain or Portugal, and there have been no book-length critical studies or biographies in either language.

*Walden* was translated into French by L. Fabulet in Paris in 1922. It has remained in print consistently since that date and is now in its seventh edition. Regis Michaud translated a vol-

ume of selections in 1930. Léon Bazalgette published a fictionized biography of Thoreau in 1924, and in 1929 Andrée Bruel published her doctoral dissertation *Emerson et Thoreau*, one of the most detailed studies of the relationship of the two men.

There are indications of an earlier interest in Thoreau in France. On September 15, 1887, Th. Bentzon published an article "Le Naturalisme aux États-Unis" in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, stating that if *Walden* were to be translated into French it would be sufficient "to establish his reputation in France as a writer and thinker." In 1904 Marcel Proust wrote to the Comtesse de Noailles, "Read . . . the admirable pages of *Walden*. It seems as if one had read them out of one's self, they issue so much from the depth of our intimate experience." And André Gide has written, "I remember the day when Fabulet met me in the Place de la Madeleine and told me about his discovery [of *Walden*]. 'An extraordinary book,' he said, 'and one that nobody in France has heard about.' It happened that I had a copy of 'Walden' in my pocket."

As has so frequently been the case with American writers, Thoreau has received marked attention in Germany. *Walden* was first translated into German by Emma Emmerich in 1897. It has since been translated by Wilhelm Nobbe in 1905, by Frz. Reuss in 1914, by F. Meyer in 1922, by Siegfried Lang in 1945, by Augusta V. Bronner in 1947 (a condensed version), by Anneliese Dangel in 1949, and by Fritz Krokkel in 1950 (another condensed version). H. G. O. Blake's selections from the journals entitled *Winter* had been translated by Emma Emmerich in 1900.

In 1895, A. Prinzing published a small pamphlet biography, *Henry D. Thoreau, Ein Amerikanischer Naturschilderer*, and in 1899, Karl Knortz, Whitman's friend and translator, another, *Ein Amerikanischer Diogenes*. There have been numerous critical essays on Thoreau in various German periodicals and books.

Frederik van Eeden (1860-1932), a Dutch short story writer and a socialist, was chiefly responsible for the interest in Thoreau in Holland. In 1897 he set about establishing a utopian community at Bussum, near Amsterdam, which he named *Walden* in honor of Thoreau. In 1902, Miss Suze de Jongh van Damwoude translated *Walden* into Dutch with a foreword by

van Eeden; the binding and endpapers were designed by members of the community.

Interest in Thoreau in Denmark reached a high point during World War II, when leaders of the Danish resistance movement looked upon "Civil Disobedience" as a manual of arms. Soon after the war Martin Ashfield, one of the resisters, began a translation of *Walden*, but abandoned it when a version by Ole Jacobsen appeared in 1949. According to A. Ejvind Larson, the publisher, the edition was a great and totally unexpected success. When he commissioned the translation, he "hoped it would be possible to make the Danish public realize how great Thoreau was." But the first edition was exhausted in seventeen days, and a new edition was printed immediately. In 1951 Ole Jacobsen translated a pamphlet edition of "Walking" and "A Winter Walk."

In 1947 Frans B. Bengtsson translated *Walden* into Swedish in an edition beautifully illustrated by Stig Asberg. And in 1953 the work appeared in the Norwegian of Andreas Eriksen.

In 1901 Tolstoy wrote "A Message to the American People," in which he stated: "If I had to address the American people, I should like to thank them for the great help I have received from their writers who flourished about the 'fifties. I would mention Garrison, Parker, Emerson, Ballou, and Thoreau, not as the greatest, but as those who, I think, specially influenced me . . . And I should like to ask the American people why they do not pay more attention to these voices (hardly to be replaced by those of financial and industrial millionaires, or successful generals and admirals), and continue the good work in which they made such hopeful progress." The great Russian novelist includes many selections from Thoreau in his anthology *A Circle of Reading*. Gandhi and Tolstoy found a common interest in Thoreau in their extended correspondence. *Walden* was translated into Russian by P. A. Bulanizke in 1910, but no new version seems to have appeared since the revolution.

*Walden* was first translated into Czechoslovakian in 1924, and again in 1933 and in 1950. But this third edition, before it could be published, was seized by the Russians, "pending ideological investigation into its contents," and, to this writer's knowledge, it was never released.



*Walden* was translated into Italian by Guido Ferrando in 1920, and reissued in 1928. In 1954, Biancamaria Tedeschini Lalli published a biographical study, *Henry David Thoreau*, based apparently chiefly on Henry Seidel Canby's biography.

"Civil Disobedience" was turned into Yiddish in New York in 1907 and again in Los Angeles in 1950. There have been frequent articles on Thoreau in Yiddish newspapers around the world. Supposedly *Walden* is now being translated into Hebrew in Israel.

*Walden* was first published in Japan in English, with notes in Japanese, in 1922. It was translated into Japanese in 1925 by Imai. A volume of English selections appeared in 1929. A new translation by Kodate Seitare was made in 1933, and the 1925 translation was reissued in 1934. A version by Emai Kisei as well as selections from *Walden* translated by Toru Okamoto appeared in 1948. In 1950 the book was translated by Hoitsu Miyamishi; in 1951, by Saburo Kanki; and in 1953, by Akira Tomita. Nor has Japanese publication been limited to *Walden*. In 1949 R. H. Blyth edited some selections from Thoreau's *Journal* and later a shortened version of *A Week*.

Apparently Thoreau has never been translated into Chinese. But Lin Yutang, in his *Importance of Living*, asserts: "Thoreau is the most Chinese of all American authors in his entire view of life . . . I could translate passages of Thoreau into my own language and pass them off as original writing by a Chinese poet, without raising any suspicion." Brooks Atkinson has told the writer that when he was a *New York Times* correspondent in China, during World War II, his copy of *Walden* disappeared. He learned later that his house-boy had started reading it, and was so entranced that he began to translate it into Chinese.

HOWEVER, the most notable example of Thoreau's impact upon the modern world was Mahatma Gandhi's use of "Civil Disobedience." Gandhi went to England as a young man to study law. Through his vegetarian habits he became acquainted with Henry Salt, the British editor and biographer of Thoreau, who was also a vegetarian. Later, in 1906 or 1907, when he



was fighting for the rights of Indians in South Africa, he received a copy of "Civil Disobedience" from a friend. "His [Thoreau's] ideas influenced me greatly," Gandhi told Webb Miller. "I adopted some of them and recommended the study of Thoreau to all my friends who were helping me in the cause of Indian independence. Why, I actually took the name of my movement from Thoreau's essay, 'On the Duty of Civil Disobedience' . . . Until I read that essay I never found a suitable English translation for my Indian word *Satyagraha* . . . There is no doubt that Thoreau's ideas greatly influenced my movement in India."

Gandhi printed copious extracts from "Civil Disobedience" in his South African newspaper *Indian Opinion* for October 26, 1907, reprinting them later in pamphlet form for distribution among his followers. Roger Baldwin, then director of the American Civil Liberties Union, meeting Gandhi in France in 1931 on his way to the London conference, noted that he carried a copy of "Civil Disobedience" with him. It has been recorded that Gandhi always had a copy with him during his imprisonment. Nor was he unacquainted with Thoreau's other writings. In 1929 he wrote Henry Salt, "I felt the need of knowing more of Thoreau, and I came across your *Life of him*, his 'Walden,' and other shorter essays, all of which I read with **great pleasure and equal profit.**" Like many other followers of Thoreau, he found "Life without Principle" another major document, publishing long portions of it in his *Indian Opinion* for June 10 and July 22, 1911.

That interest in Thoreau in India has continued since Gandhi's death is reflected in the recent publication of an anonymous pamphlet biography, *Henry David Thoreau: The Man Who Moulded the Mahatma's Mind*, in Delhi. In the summer of 1956 the Indian government announced that it was sponsoring the publication of *Walden* in all the major Indian languages. Thus Thoreau, who fed upon the literature of the Orient, returned in kind to the Orient full measure. The "hermit of Walden Pond," looked upon by his contemporaries as a second-rate imitator of Emerson, has become not only one of the principal literary figures of his nation, but of the world.

# The Drawings of Elizabeth MacKinstry

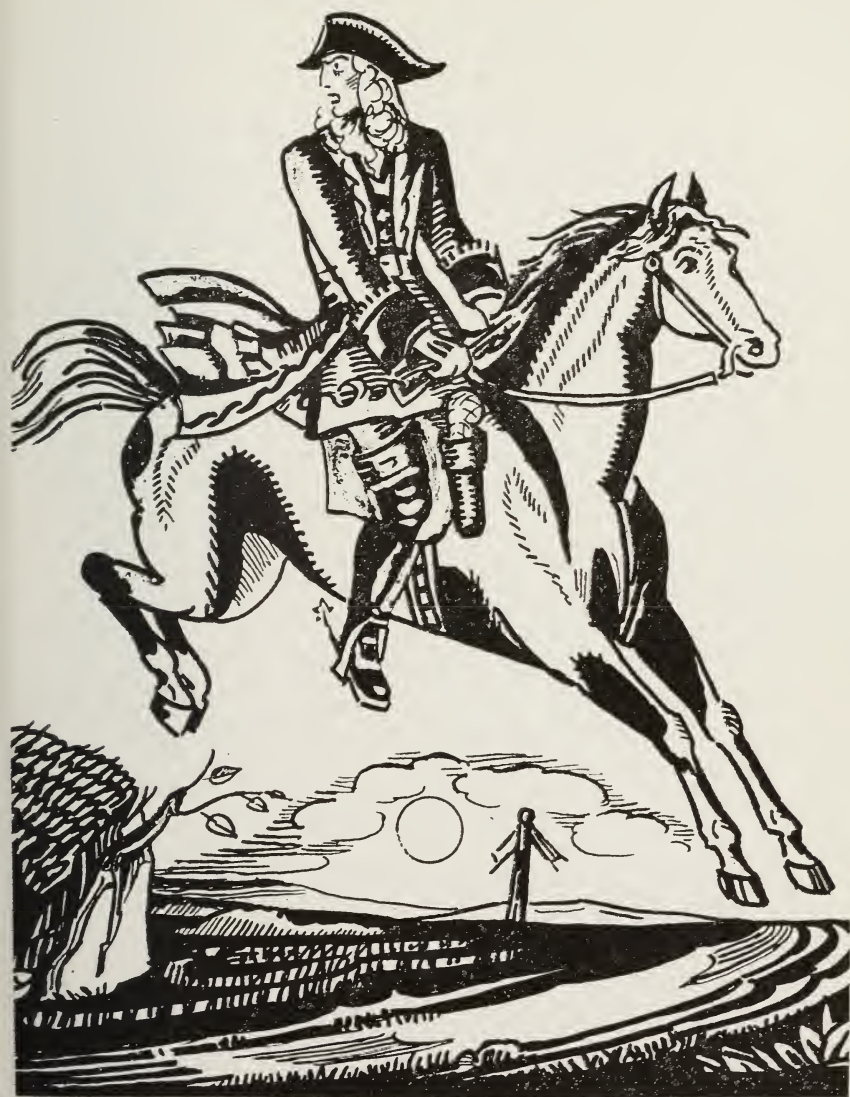
By ARTHUR W. HEINTZELMAN

THE Print Department has moved steadily forward through a number of notable acquisitions in the past few years.

Recently the Department was enriched with several hundred drawings by Elizabeth MacKinstry, made for illustrations for her own books and those of other authors. This gift by Miss Florence Brooks, executor of Miss MacKinstry's estate, and Mrs. Wickliff Rose is particularly outstanding, for the collection contains many preliminary studies for the final drawings. This is another step forward in the Print Department's important rôle in education, since the student and visitor are given a visual demonstration in the development of an illustration from the first drawing to the printed version.

Miss MacKinstry, who died on May 13, 1956 at Pittsfield, Massachusetts, after long years of seclusion at Lenox, was one of those rare artists whose ranks are rapidly diminishing. Her many-sided art was built on profound study and on experiences related to painting, sculpture, music, and all the graphic arts. In her youth she studied violin with Eugène Ysaye and sculpture with Auguste Rodin; and she had a command of several languages, including Greek and Latin. Possessed of a fertile imagination and a rare creative mind, she lived for her art whole-heartedly, passionately guarding her talent as a sacred trust.

Too few people know of Miss MacKinstry's exceptional ability in the art of illustration. Although the body of her work is not very large, her reputation among illustrators and publishers is great. Her art and ideas are entirely free from academic immobility, and are never touched by commercialism. Among her first productions was a book of her own poems, which has become a classic — *Puck in Pasture* — for which the Print Department now possesses many of the original drawings, as well as studies which do not appear in the published volume. Among the volumes she illustrated by other authors are *Eliza and the Elves*, *Tall Tales of the Kentucky Mountains*,



*"A Highwayman Comes Riding"*  
*A Pen and Wash Drawing by Elizabeth MacKinstry*





*Snake Gold*, an edition of Joyce Kilmer's *Trees*, *The Magic Pawnship*, *Tales of Laughter*, *The White Cat* (Madame D'Aulnoy's eighteenth-century fairy tales), and Henrik Isen's *Peer Gynt*.

Miss MacKinstry's reed drawings bring to mind the oriental use of the free brush, resulting in a line that is spontaneous and inspired. The several hundred drawings in pencil, reed pen, color crayon, and brush received by the Print Department reveal an earnest search for rare moments of interpretation. Associated with great sincerity, this produces a rare distinction found only in a few illustrators. She demanded absolute freedom in the interpretation of the text and handling of her medium, whether it be in black and white or color. Few people can understand the wonder of her dream-world and, in fact, only few of her initiated friends were accepted to share her creative ideas.

To understand her thoroughly, it is necessary to study the many drawings for *Puck in Pasture*. She leads one through paths that bring rich adventures, sheer delight, and release from the commonplace. These spirited studies reflect the artist's youth and the lyrical beauty of her great talent.

In the compositions of *The Legend of St. Columba* there is a feeling of detachment, as if the artist had been awed by the imaginary surroundings. She seemed to be listening for ideas until her creative instincts found and captured the image with crayon and brush. In these five studies her craft was inspired by her talents for music, sculpture, painting, and drawing, all brought together in one gift of masterly illustration. The same many-sided inspiration is present in a wealth of other drawings, many of them unpublished. One has only to glance at the series made for *Forty Singing Seamen* and *Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp*, and at the single studies of "The Knight's Return," "St. Placidus and the Stag," "A Highwayman Comes Riding," "The Bravo," "Clowns," "Detail of the Last Judgment," and scores of others.

The exhibition of Miss MacKinstry's work held in the Wiggin Gallery in November 1958 was necessarily incomplete and therefore could not do justice to the subtle skill which makes her an illustrator *par excellence* — one equipped with imagina-

tion and power to appeal to children and grown-ups alike, and with an art of an old and distant ancestry now placed in a contemporary atmosphere.

In a group of drawings from *Old Ballads* Miss MacKinstry was essentially the decorative artist. Her arrangements and handling of subjects, composed of the human figure and use of landscape, were secondary to the ultimate effect, never stressed to a point of marring the non-conventional in her art.

Miss MacKinstry's work was not intended for large editions, but publishers, authors, and illustrators gave her extravagant praise. She worked in an atmosphere of make-believe from her own special way of thinking, and it is only natural that her talent should be personal in character. She was more accomplished than she herself realized, and her subject matter possessed extraordinary variety. Some of her drawings are exquisite in quality, and others are powerful in their boldness.

Time will justify her work, for its artistic value attracts an ever-widening audience. That it has maintained itself in this realistic world is due primarily to the admiration of her fellow artists. Beloved by all and known to them as "Puck," Miss MacKinstry was an artist whose abilities transcend ordinary analysis.

# Notes on Rare Books and Manuscripts

## The Battle of Bunker Hill

THERE are many contemporary accounts, both private and official, British and American, of the Battle of Bunker Hill, chiefly known in its time as the Battle of Charlestown. On June 20, 1775, three days after the event, the Massachusetts Provincial Congress described the battle in a report to the Continental Congress, and on June 25 General Gage, Captain General and Governor of Massachusetts, sent an official letter about it to the Earl of Dartmouth, Secretary for the Colonies. The British Commander's account appeared in the London journals and its "misrepresentations" provoked the Massachusetts Committee of Safety to prepare at once a correct narrative. This latter, dated July 25, is the main source of the American version of the famous battle.

General Gage's letter to the Earl of Dartmouth was also printed, in an abbreviated but substantially the same form, in a hand-bill which was circulated in besieged Boston. This broadside, of which the Boston Public Library has recently acquired a beautiful copy, is extremely rare; only one other copy is known in America and one in England. It is reprinted here:

BOSTON, 26th of June, 1775.

THIS Town was alarmed on the 17th Instant at break of Day, by a Firing from the Lively Ship of War; and a Report was immediately spread that the Rebels had broke Ground, and were raising a Battery on the Heights of the Peninsula of Charlestown, against the Town of Boston. They were plainly seen, and in a few Hours a Battery of Six Guns, played upon their Works. Preparations were instantly made for the landing of a Body of Men; and some Companies of Grenadiers and Light Infantry, with some Batallions, and Field Artillery; amounting in the whole to about 2000 Men, under the command of Major General HOWE, and Brigadier General PIGOT, were embarked with great Expedition, and landed on the Peninsula without Opposition; under Cover of some Ships of War, and armed Vessels.

The Troops formed as soon as landed: The Rebels upon the Heights, were perceived to be in great Force, and strongly posted. A Redoubt thrown up on the 16th at Night, with other Works full of Men, defended with Cannon, and a large Body posted in the Houses of Charlestown, covered their Right; and their Left was

covered by a Breastwork, Part of it Cannon Proof, which reached from the Left of the Redoubt to the Mystick River.

Besides the Appearance of the Rebels Strength, large Columns were seen pouring in to their Assistance; but the King's Troops advanced; the Attack began by a Cannonade, and notwithstanding various Impediments of Fences, Walls, &c. and the heavy Fire they were exposed to, from the vast Numbers of Rebels, and their Left galled from the Houses of Charlestown, the Troops made their Way to the Redoubt, mounted the Works, and carried it. The Rebels were then forced from other strong Holds, and pursued 'till they were drove clear of the Peninsula, leaving Five Pieces of Cannon behind them. Charlestown was set on Fire during the Engagement, and most Part of it consumed. The Loss they sustained, must have been considerable, from the vast Numbers they were seen to carry off during the Action, exclusive of what they suffered from the shipping. About a Hundred were buried the Day after, and Thirty found wounded on the Field, some of which are since Dead. About 170 of the King's Troops were killed, and since dead of their Wounds; and a great many were wounded.

This Action has shown the Bravery of the King's Troops, who under every Disadvantage, gained a compleat Victory over Three Times their Number, strongly posted, and covered by Breastworks. But they fought for their KING, their LAWS and CONSTITUTION.

### The 150th Anniversary of Poe's Birth

ONE hundred and fifty years ago — on January 19, 1809 — Edgar Allan Poe was born in Boston, where his actor-parents were then playing. His first book, *Tamerlane and Other Poems*, was signed "By A Bostonian," and was produced in Boston by an apprentice printer in 1827. However, in later life Poe identified himself with the South, where he grew up and lived, and strongly resented the assumption of superiority on the part of New Englanders.

Horror, mystery and melody are the chief notes in Poe's literary work. His "Raven," with its haunting refrain, is probably the best-known poem in America, and surely most people have read in their youth *The Gold Bug* and *The Pit and the Pendulum*, and know at least by title *The Fall of the House of Usher*, as well as such poems as "The Bells," "Ulalume," and "Annabel Lee."

Poe's chief influence on literature, however, has been exerted abroad. In his country he was a startling phenomenon among

contemporaries such as Whittier and Longfellow, and it is only on the detective story that he had a noticeable effect. In contrast, his admirers in France were numerous. The poet Baudelaire spent years translating his works, and prayed to him as to a saint. Mallarmé and others also found inspiration in his poems, and his prose tales influenced Jules Verne. In fact, until the end of the Second World War, Poe and Whitman almost alone represented American literature in France.

An exhibit of Poe's writings has been arranged in the Treasure Room. Its outstanding feature consists of twenty autograph letters of the poet. The earliest, dated May 30, 1835, is addressed to Thomas White, proprietor of the *Southern Literary Messenger*, of which Poe himself shortly became editor. In a letter Poe proposes to Longfellow that the latter become a contributor to a magazine he was hoping to establish. To F. W. Thomas he apologizes for the inconvenience he had caused his friends during one of his fits of drinking. Several letters were sent to Rufus W. Griswold, discussing literary and business matters, and in one instance requesting a loan. Poe made Griswold his literary executor, a notoriously unwise choice, since his supposed friend wrote a venomous *Memoir* of his life.

Poe's resentment against the literary figures of Boston comes out in a letter to Griswold, in which he accuses Longfellow of plagiarizing his poem, "The Haunted Palace." In another letter he remarks of the Boston writers: "They are getting worse and worse, and pretend not to be aware that there *are* any literary people out of Boston!" In a note to his mother-in-law, written within a month of his death, he speaks of his success as a lecturer, adding: "I have been invited out a great deal — but could not go, on account of not having a dress coat."

The books in the exhibit include a number of first editions. Among them are *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym* (New York, 1838), *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque* (Philadelphia, 1840), and *The Raven and Other Poems* (New York, 1845). *Tamerlane* is shown only in facsimile, as the Library lacks an original copy, the last recorded price of which was \$20,000. An oddity in this company is the *Conchologist's First Book* (Philadelphia, 1839), a treatise on shells. Actually, Poe wrote only the preface; the text and illustrations were lifted from published books.

Many of Poe's tales and poems appeared for the first time in magazines or newspapers. On display are volumes of *Godey's Lady Book*, *Graham's Magazine*, the *Southern Literary Magazine*, *The*



*Broadway Journal*, and the *American Review*, the last of which contained, in its issue for February, 1845, the first printing of "The Raven." The literary gift-books and annuals, so popular in the nineteenth century, are represented by copies of the *Opal* and *The Baltimore Book*, opened to Poe's articles.

Other material in the exhibit includes French and German translations of Poe's works. *Les Poèmes d'Edgar Poe* (Paris, 1889) is the first complete translation of Poe's poems by Stéphane Mallarmé, containing seven lithographs by Manet.

The exhibit will be on view until June 1.

## The Patron Saint of Bologna

A BEAUTIFUL little prayer-book honoring St. Petronius, patron saint and one-time bishop of Bologna, and entitled *Officium Proprium Divi Petronii . . .*, was published about 1514. The Library has recently acquired a copy of a corrected edition, with a preface by Giovanni Riccio and printed by Alexander de Benacis at Bologna in 1563. The volume is a duodecimo of 102 pages, printed in large black-letter, with the title-page, colophon, and rubrics in red. A number of larger initials, especially those introducing the offices, are historiated. But the most noteworthy feature is the series of eleven full-page woodcuts, one of them (thrice repeated) being the portrait of St. Petronius in full regalia, holding in his right hand a model of the city of Bologna.

The *Officium* contains the usual features of a Book of Hours. There are the canticles: the Magnificat, Te Deum, Benedicite, Benedictus, Jubilate, prayers, psalms, and antiphons. Only one Gospel lesson appears — five lines from the Gospel of St. John ("I am the good Shepherd") — repeated eight times and followed by homilies of St. Gregory. There is, in addition, a profusion of hymns, as well as prayers, pertaining to St. Petronius.

The authentic records of the life of this amiable saint are scanty. The son of another Petronio, he left a career of public honor for that of the church. The Emperor Theodosius II sent him to Pope Celestine I to consult about the Nestorian heresy. About 430 A.D. he was made Bishop of Bologna, and is known to have rebuilt many churches destroyed by the Goths, especially the church of San Sepolcro, so named from the copy Petronius had made of the tomb of Christ in Jerusalem. The Saint died on October 4th, 450; and

at the beginning of the fourteenth century, October 4 was declared the feast of St. Petronius.

In the *Vita* of the *Officium* one reads that Petronius senior, of Byzantium, was a "most learned man." He had also a daughter, Eudochia, who became the wife of the Emperor Theodosius II — which would make the future bishop a brother-in-law of the Emperor. Young Petronius was versed in the liberal arts, mastering both Greek and Latin. At the time of his mission to Rome, St. Peter appeared in a vision to Pope Celestine, admonishing him to bestow the bishopric of Bologna on Petronius. During the rebuilding of San Sepolcro a miracle occurred. A falling column killed a stone-cutter, whom Petronius's prayers restored to life. Especially interesting is the passage which may relate the conception of the ancient university of Bologna. Theodosius, keeping a promise made to Petronius, called a council of learned men who all agreed that the city should establish an Academy (*Gymnasium*)—an idea which gave the Emperor much joy. Petronius built four little chapels outside the city walls, into which he placed many relics of apostles, evangelists, martyrs, and virgins.

The woodcuts, besides the portrait of the Saint, are as follows: The birth of Petronius in a Patrician household, in which women attendants prepare to bathe the tightly wrapped infant; Petronius, already mitred, kneeling at the feet of the Emperor; Petronius, mounted on a horse, in a solemn ecclesiastical procession; St. Ambrose, standing in the doorway of his Cathedral, forbidding entrance to the Emperor Theodosius I; an abject pilgrim kneeling before the Bishop; Petronius begging the aid of Theodosius II for the destroyed city of Bologna; Petronius on his deathbed; and the funeral procession and prayers in San Sepolcro.

MARGARET MUNSTERBERG

# Trustees of the Library

ERWIN D. CANHAM, *President*

SIDNEY R. RABB, *Vice-President*

FRANK W. BUXTON

PATRICK F. McDONALD

RIGHT REVEREND EDWARD G. MURRAY

## Director, and Librarian

MILTON E. LORD

## Contributors to this Issue

NATHALIA WRIGHT is Associate Professor of English at the University of Tennessee.

WALTER HARDING, of the faculty of State University Teachers College, Geneseo, New York, is Secretary of The Thoreau Society.

EDITH A. WRIGHT is Editorial Library Assistant; and ARTHUR W. HEINTZELMAN, etcher and painter, is Keeper of Prints at the Boston Public Library.

THE  
Boston Public Library  
QUARTERLY

Volume 11, Number 3

## Contents

	<i>Page</i>
LETTERS AND MANUSCRIPTS OF WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT <i>By Edith A. Wright</i>	115
THE HUNT COLLECTION ON THE WEST INDIES <i>By Ellen M. Oldham</i>	131
ALBRECHT VON EYB ON MARRIAGE <i>By Margaret Munsterberg</i>	143
A DICKENS EXHIBIT IN THE TREASURE ROOM	147
A MUCH-TRAVELLED BOOK RETURNS TO BOSTON <i>By Ellen M. Oldham</i>	149
INDEX TO THE BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY QUARTERLY <i>By Margy P. Sharpe</i>	151
ILLUSTRATIONS AND FACSIMILES	

\* \*  
\*

EDITOR: ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

*The Boston Public Library Quarterly* is published for January, April, July, and October by the Trustees of the Public Library of the City of Boston in Copley Square, Boston 17. Second-Class mail privileges authorized at Boston, Massachusetts. Printed for the Boston Public Library, June 1959.

*Single Copies, 50 cents*  
*Annual Subscription, \$2.00*



# THE Boston Public Library QUARTERLY

JULY 1959

## Letters and Manuscripts of William H. Prescott

By EDITH A. WRIGHT

WHEN William H. Prescott died on January 28, 1859, Longfellow characterized him as "a man without an enemy, beloved by all and mourned by all,"<sup>1</sup> and Charles Sumner lamented, "There is a charm taken from Boston. Its east winds whistle more coldly around Park Street corner."<sup>2</sup> The Massachusetts Historical Society, the New York Historical Society, and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences held commemorative sessions, and a *Prescott Memorial* was published, full of his praises.<sup>3</sup>

One hundred years later, his books are still being read. In 1949 the Heritage Press published a new edition of *The Conquest of Mexico*, with illustrations by Covarrubias, and a scholar writing a few years ago called the "Conquests" of Mexico and Peru "definitive." The centenary of his death has inspired several articles, by the historians Samuel Eliot Morison and Thomas F. McGann among others. Professor Morison terms Prescott "The American Thucydides." He was one of the pioneers of American historiography, and one of the first to make a profound study of Spanish history. Although the accounts of the Aztec and Inca civilizations have been out-dated by later anthropological discoveries, his histories, with their dramatic style, interest the general reader as well as the schol-

ar. In his life-time they were very popular — real best-sellers.

Prescott was born at Salem, Massachusetts, on May 4, 1796, the son of a judge and grandson of William Prescott, the hero of Bunker Hill. While a student at Harvard, he was accidentally hit in the eye by a crust of bread thrown during a student brawl, and all his historical work was accomplished with the aid of one eye, and that a weakened one, which for long periods could not be used at all. Fortunately, he was able to hire readers, and so, helped by a phenomenal memory, compose his books. Most of his writing was done on a "noctograph," an instrument devised for the blind, consisting of a frame crossed by brass guide-wires and holding a sheet of carbon paper to be written on with a stylus. This arrangement, as he remarked, "obviated the two great difficulties in the way of a blind man's writing . . . not knowing when the ink is exhausted in his pen, and when his lines run into one another."<sup>4</sup> Prescott called his writing on the noctograph "hieroglyphics," and Wilfred H. Munro, in his preface to the "Montezuma" edition of *The Conquest of Mexico* (1904), says that only the author and his secretary could read it. This is an exaggeration, for, while some of it is very faint and an occasional word is illegible, most of the text can be read easily. By this method, in spite of his formidable handicap, Prescott managed to write his four great works, *Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic* (1838), *The Conquest of Mexico* (1843), *The Conquest of Peru* (1847), and *The Reign of Philip the Second* (1855-58), the last left unfinished at his death.

THE Boston Public Library owns a large amount of Prescott material, including proof-sheets of *The Conquest of Peru*, substantial portions of the original manuscripts of the histories, and about 120 letters. The manuscripts are, of course, the most valuable part of the collection. Prescott's library, numbering 1,681 items, was sold at auction in Boston in 1871; his manuscripts were purchased by James E. Root, a manufacturer and book collector, whose own library was sold in 1879. It was on this occasion that the Boston Public Library acquired most of the manuscripts of Prescott's works.<sup>5</sup>

*Ferdinand and Isabella* is represented by a volume of prelimi-

nary notes, as well as by part of the manuscript. The former item consists of 494 pages, measuring  $12\frac{1}{2}$  by  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches. It includes notes for a review of José Antonio Condé's book on the Spanish Arabs; the review itself; jottings from various writers on the government of Castile and Aragon; and "Hints, reflections, etc." on the same subject by Prescott, who later made use of them in the Introduction to his work. The review of Condé's book was never published as such, but furnished material for Chapter VIII of *Ferdinand and Isabella*. An example will show how the "Hints" were developed in the text. After speaking of the neglect of Arab documents in Spain and of the fire in the Escorial in 1671 which destroyed a large number of Oriental manuscripts, the notes continue:

The government, however, about the middle of the last century, taking some shame to themselves, as it would seem, for their past neglect, authorized the publication of a Catalogue of the comparatively small portion (1850 volumes) which yet survived. Under these auspices, the splendid work of Casiri appeared; a work whose execution might have reflected credit on the far-famed press of Ibarra. (Pp. 329-30.)

The final version reads:

. . . the Spanish government, taking some shame to itself, as it would appear, for its past supineness caused a copious catalogue of the surviving volumes, to the number of 1850, to be compiled by the learned Casiri; and the result was his celebrated work . . . which would reflect credit from the splendor of its typographical execution on any press of the present day. (I, 312, note.)

Prescott also enters reminders to himself, such as, "Inquire into the state of cities in Aragon, also into the mode of judicial process against a peer in Aragon or Castile."

Of the original manuscript of the work, the Library owns sixty-four pages, corresponding to volume III, pages 433-58 of the first edition. The last four pages belong to the Chamberlain Collection, and the rest to the Bowditch Collection.

The Library also owns three manuscript volumes of *The Conquest of Mexico*, containing some 2,700 pages, 10 by  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches in size, and written on both sides of the sheet on the noctograph. About 288 pages of the printed text, plus some notes, are lacking.<sup>6</sup> Usually the notes appear at the end of the

chapters, sometimes on smaller sheets. The text is substantially the same as in the printed work, but Book I, Chapter II contains a much longer account of the coronation of the Aztec rulers than appears in the final version. In this, too, Book II has three chapters; in the manuscript the third chapter is not separated from the second.

Accompanying these volumes is a letter from Charles Amory, Prescott's brother-in-law. Dated January 18, 1884, it reads:

Mr. Charles Amory presents his compliments to the Trustees of the Boston Public Library and presents herewith a portion of the original manuscript of the *Conquest of Mexico*, being the part which completes the work now in the possession of the Library.

Just what part of the manuscript was given by Mr. Amory is difficult to determine. All three volumes are identified as items in the Root Sale, whereas it seems probable that Amory, a member of Prescott's family, had received his pages directly. As Volumes II and III were not bound until 1885, Mr. Amory's contribution was no doubt bound in with the rest in its proper place.

The two manuscript volumes of *The Conquest of Peru*, also bought by the Library at the Root Sale, contain over 1,100 pages, of the same size as those of *The Conquest of Mexico*. They include the first twenty pages of the Preface, and pages 39 to 325 of Volume II of the first edition; in all, about half the work. Chapter XXVI is marked "Good specimen for a reader to learn my hand."

Prescott's manuscripts bear witness to the great pains he took with the style of his works. Often several different words were tried. Examples are: "granted, given, lavished," "exercised, claimed, assumed," "martial, factious, warlike." "Ancient" authority became "ravished" and then "despoiled" authority. In the following passage from *Ferdinand and Isabella*, the words in italics have been crossed out in the manuscript; the single brackets are Prescott's:

*The immense powers.* [*The people, wisely preferring one tyrant* [master to a multitude combined [sustained the monarch in stripping the aristocracy of its exorbitant powers [privileges [The people, wisely preferring the rule of a single master to a multitude, sustained the crown in seizing [in its efforts to ensnare to ravish the [to secure (il-



legible word) to overpower [*dangerous powers of the aristocracy privileged orders* in its efforts to retrieve from the aristocracy the enormous powers it so grossly abused.

In the printed text "retrieve" is replaced by "recover." Frequently, a whole paragraph is crossed out and rewritten, and sometimes sentences are added in pencil.

Most of the chapters are dated with extreme meticulousness, the Roman numerals denoting the hour, for example in the manuscript of *The Conquest of Mexico*: Chapter VI, "20 VI. Thursday Aug. 12"; Chapter VII, "Thursday 25 XII A M, Aug. 26, 1841"; Chapter VIII, "Tuesday, 20 min. past 5 P.M., Sep. 14, 1841." There are also occasional notes for his secretary, as "Mr. B. will find the extract in one of my memoranda" or "Leave a line blank and put the (?) in pencil." Prescott's son, then about fifteen years old, experimented with the nograph once or twice. One page of the manuscript of *The Conquest of Mexico* reads: "Boston. A most excellent contrivance. William Prescott Esquire Junior," and another, "I am a good boy . . . I am a good man."

The proof-sheets of *The Conquest of Peru* comprise pages 83, 84, 87-282 and 332-432 of Volume III of the first edition. Only the last hundred pages show corrections, chiefly indications of misprints and broken letters. However, there are a few stylistic notes in red, like the following: "I think the structure of this sentence should be changed," or "We say, 'from the waters of Ontario,' 'from the waters of Champlain,' etc. not *the* Ontario, *the* Champlain. *The* is connected with rivers, not with lakes, — in common usage." Not all the suggestions were adopted, but these were and in the second instance, "the" was dropped before "Titicaca."

THE largest number of the letters, about one hundred in all, are part of the manuscripts of Charles Folsom, presented to the Library by his daughter-in-law, Mrs. Norton Folsom, in 1904. Some of them are in Prescott's own hand, others were written by a secretary. They show the historian's methods of work, and seem to be unpublished. George Ticknor, in his *Life of William Hickling Prescott* (Boston, 1864) refers to Fol-

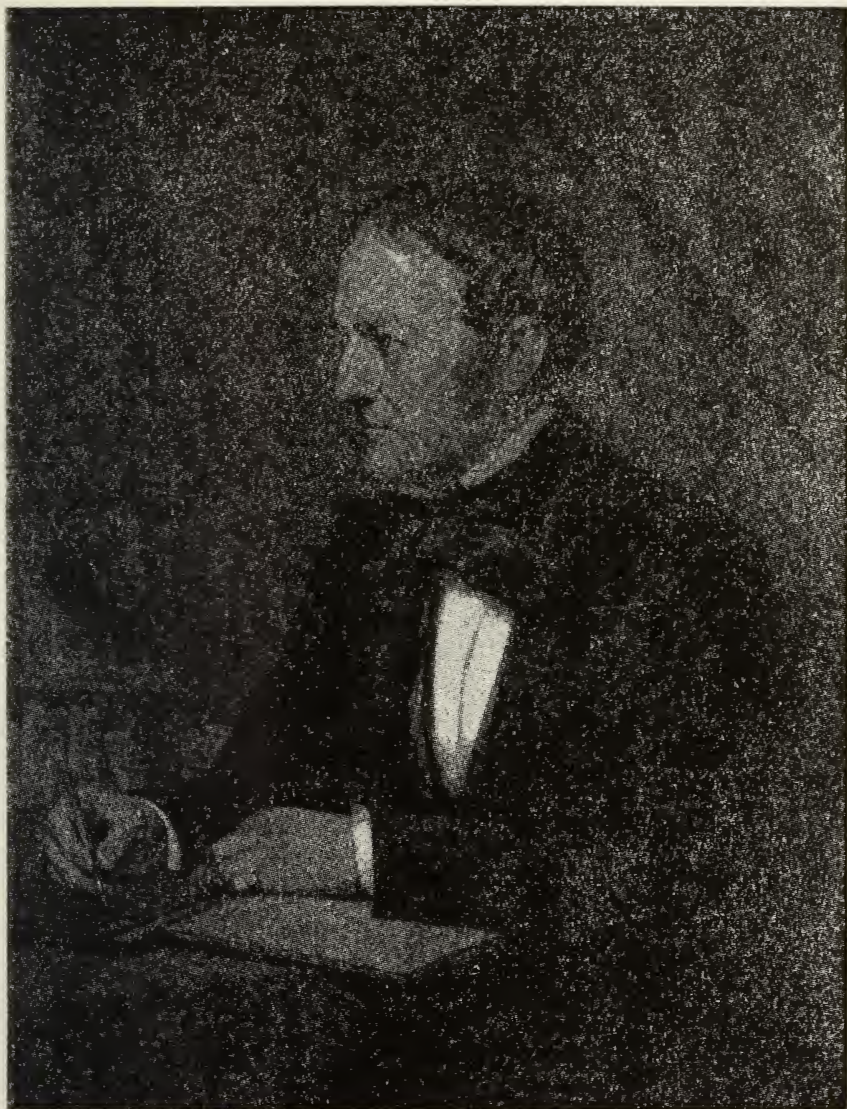


som two or three times, but does not quote any letters to or by him.<sup>7</sup> *The Correspondence of William Hickling Prescott, 1833-1847*, (Boston, 1925), edited by Roger Wolcott, Prescott's great-grandson, was selected from letters owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Charles Folsom, two years older than Prescott, had been a student with him at Harvard, where he had witnessed the accident which destroyed Prescott's eye. Referring to it in an address before the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1859, Folsom said: "From that painful hour my interest in him began. Years of distant separation soon followed, but when I next met him, it was to be admitted to his close friendship." After graduation from Harvard, Folsom had a varied career. He taught for a year, began to study for the ministry but had to give up on account of poor health, and became chaplain and instructor in mathematics on the flag-ships *Washington* and *Columbus*. For two years, he served as U. S. Consul at Tunis. Later he was a tutor in Latin and Italian at Harvard, and at the same time Librarian. For some fifteen years, beginning in 1824, he acted as corrector of the Harvard University Press. After leaving the Press, he conducted a girls' school in Boston for a brief period and then in 1846 became Librarian of the Boston Athenaeum. He retired in 1856 and died in 1872.

It was as corrector of the Harvard University Press that Folsom was closely associated with Prescott's work, and most of the letters are concerned with the histories. The earliest is not dated, but is marked as having been received on April 17, 1837. At this time Prescott was preparing *Ferdinand and Isabella* for the press, and his letter discusses running titles and notes. It ends, "I shall not take any decision on this point till I have your counsel, who are my Magnus Apollo in these perilous concerns."

The succeeding letters comment on the proofs, and reflect Prescott's interest in the details of printing. He states that he scans the proofs only from the point of view of form and that "For the text I rely on your lynx-eye-ed-ness." Folsom's painstaking accuracy, his integrity and good-nature, were well known to all his associates, but he had one serious fault — he was chronically slow in getting work accomplished. Theophilus



*Mr. H. Prescott*

*Prescott Writing on his Noctograph Machine  
Engraved by John Sartain from a Photograph from Life*



Parsons, in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* for 1875, recalls that when Folsom was at the University Press, the printers often had to wait "while he was spending days or weeks in verifying words or statements, or guarding against the possibility of error, in respect to questions too minute to require or repay such labor." Later, when Folsom was working on Worcester's *Dictionary*, the same problem occurred. "When it was shown to him that at the rate he advanced the book could not be published in that generation, it made no difference to him. He could do no otherwise."

It is not surprising, then, to find Prescott prodding his friend, at first diplomatically, later more urgently. As early as September 1837, he complains: "Your performance has fallen so far short of your promises that I fear you must have had illness in your family." But in the same letter he acknowledges the correction of a mistake and adds: "My claim to Midas's appendages grows more and more incontestable."

The historian laid much importance on the physical appearance of his works. A few days later he writes:

I think with you much of a handsome symmetrical *Title Page*. The names Ferd. & Isa. might be printed in a deeper broader and blacker character a *little* larger than the rest. What do you think of Old English for the Cognomen the Catholic? I defer to your typographical taste and perspicacity. I should like however to *see* a copy of the printed *Title Page* before it is fixed in immortal bronze.

The quality of the paper and ink also concerned him. A marginal note reads: "My letter is sealed but I can't omit to refresh your memory about having the ink black in the printing of our edition. Sparks's last vol. has a very pale aspect — perhaps the paper may be in fault — pray look at it." And again: "I am very desirous to get the best paper . . . the beauty of the typographical execution rests so much on this point that I trust there will be no falling off here."

Although in general the letters stick closely to business, at times other topics intrude. Prescott's thoughtfulness and loyalty to his friends occasion one of these interruptions. He felt moved to indignation by the failure of the Federal Government to give financial support to the *Life of George Washington* by Jared Sparks, but before making a public protest he wished to



be sure that his friend would not object. At the same time, he did not want to involve him in the matter by asking his approval directly. "For," as he wrote to Folsom, "a man may be very willing to have the truth told by another, without his participation, while he would decline to have it done with it." He therefore requested Folsom to find out whether Sparks would object in principle to such a statement, and concluded: "Now is this not a mighty comboberation about a penny trumpet twaddle in the newspaper! but *volat irrevocabile verbum* — *immedicabile* when once fled — and I had rather write a quire in MS than print a word that should harm or displease a friend."

Comments on the proofs follow every few days. On October 19 he writes:

You will find a much larger number of corrections for broken types in the first section . . . The truth is, the types, especially for the notes, have become a good deal damaged in the course of the war: so that the vestibule will not afford quite so attractive an appearance as the rest of the edifice.

Finally the work was ready to make its appearance. For the modern taste, the title-page appears somewhat cluttered, but Prescott approved: "Your title-page is beautiful — unencumbered — and yet full." Although published in December 1857, the book was dated "1858." Until the last moment, Prescott had doubts as to the advisability of printing it, but the first edition of 500 copies sold out rapidly, so that a second one was needed almost at once. Early in January, the historian remarked: "The bantling has certainly not fallen still-born, but is alive and kicking merrily. How long his life may last, it is impossible to prognosticate."

**M**OST of the reviews were highly laudatory. Prescott copied out for Folsom, for use in advertisements, an article from the London *Athenaeum* which praises *Ferdinand and Isabella* as "one of the most pleasing as well as most valuable contributions that have been made to modern history." In general, he accepted praise and criticism with equanimity, but an article by the English writer Richard Ford seems to have annoyed him, for he wrote in what for him are unusually harsh terms:



I have also received the last Quarterly containing a long paper on their Catholic Highnesses, well sprinkled with pepper, sugar, and salt — the last not of the true Attic, certainly. He has found out that I hate stars and garters, and am little better than a loco-foco, God help us! Also, that I love the French overmuch and have formed my sesquipedalian style on Dr. Channing in the text, and Dr. Dunham in the notes! He might as well have said Dr. Johnson and Dr. Ollapod. He calls me to account, moreover, for blunders which I have exposed myself in others, and thus enabled him to charge on me. This is too bad — but *secundum artem*. The fact is, he is a regular humbug, with a good deal of the wag, not to say blackguard; and withal, I have no doubt, meant to do the civil thing by me, on the whole, for he has said as nice things of me as any other of the genus. So much for good master Ford.

Ticknor, in the *Life*, refers to the months following the publication of *Ferdinand and Isabella* as a vacation period, remarking (p. 163): "He wrote nothing during that winter, — not even his accustomed private memoranda." However, a number of letters to Folsom show that Prescott was greatly occupied with revisions for the second edition. His eyesight prevented him from doing much himself, but friends sent him lists of emendations, as appears from the following extract:

[About January 20, 1838.] My own eyes have not been in trim to look through or indeed, to look *into* that renowned History, since it has come from the press. The errors, such as they are, have been furnished me by others, and that they have been able to point out no more must arise, I conceive, either from the immaculateness of your press, or quite as probably from the circumstance that the readers have not been able to get on further than the first volume.

Revisions continued through the spring, and once again Folsom had to be urged on: "I dare say you lose no time, but it seems to me you do not go on so briskly as before. The copies have all been drained off for some days — this is very vexatious." And again: "When will the Catholic Highnesses reappear from your press? I suppose you lose no time, but I am sustaining a very serious injury by the delay, unavoidable though it be."

The stereotype plates made corrections difficult. On June 15 Prescott writes: "I should have adopted some other of Mr. Norton's emendations, in which, with one or two exceptions, I en-

tirely concur: but am I not in stereotype? And to expect a man in fetters to cut pigeon-wings and summersets is only to make him feel how the irons pinch."<sup>8</sup> Again, on June 27:

I have made these alterations on a pretty careful estimate of the spaces they will occupy. If they overrun, in any instance, I think it can only be by a word or so; in which case I must leave it to your wits to put things right by substituting some shorter *equivalent word*, or by expunging a superfluous one. This Procrustes operation of stretching one's wits out, or paring them down, by line and rule, is a delightful one.

Once he praises Folsom, perhaps in an attempt to use practical psychology on him: "I am glad you are going on at such a round trot. You must let out the string, as the whips say — or the public will overtake us."

Third and fourth editions of "Their Catholic Highnesses" (Prescott's pet name for the book) followed closely, and received careful attention from their author. The fourth edition did not entirely satisfy him. He complains on January 30, 1839:

The paper of the fourth edition is too *cottonish* to write well upon; and in fact it is a paper that I don't *cotton* to myself at all — and feel quite ashamed to send it abroad . . . I wish you could produce a better effect in your title pages. They all look "pale and mealy" like Joanna Baillie's ghost by comparison with the English.

As late as August 20, 1839, he is still discussing title-pages and paper for *Ferdinand and Isabella*:

On your title page, I should prefer the Roman numerals for the year. What do you think of the title "Ferdinand and Isabella" in neat red letters, à l'antique? My new English edition is so printed, with pretty good effect. As to the paper, I want your *candid opinion* thereon. I will not quote you, be assured. It seems to me of stouter quality, and more — not better — sized. It has not so fine and delicate an appearance as I could wish. But I am no judge. Do not omit to tell me what you think.

After Folsom left the Press, his connection with Prescott's works was naturally less intimate, but the historian still employed him to read the proofs and act as stylistic critic. In this connection, Prescott wrote in a memorandum of January 7, 1844, which has been printed by Ticknor: "Had I accepted half

of my good friend Folsom's criticisms, what would have become of the style? Yet they had and will always have their value for accurate analysis of labor and thought, and for accuracy of general facts." His gratitude is expressed to Folsom in a letter written upon the termination of *The Conquest of Mexico* and dated September 4, 1843:

I enclose you a check for one hundred and fifty dollars — being the sum which you approved — for your services in revising the "Conquest." I beg leave to assure you, however, that I do not think that a compensation can be made in money for the services of friendship, as I consider yours, and I am under great obligations to you for the patient goodnature and the conscientiousness with which you have gone over the work.

In the Preface to *The Conquest of Peru*, Folsom's help is acknowledged in these words: "Lastly I must not omit to mention my obligations, in another way, to my friend Charles Folsom Esq., the learned librarian of the Boston Athenaeum; whose minute acquaintance with the grammatical structure and the true idiom of our English tongue has enabled me to correct many inaccuracies into which I had fallen in the composition both of this and of my former works."

The correspondence continued up to the last year of Prescott's life, and reveals a closely continuing relationship. Prescott still appreciated Folsom's help, became exasperated with him, and teased him, as the following examples show:

[April 9, 1856.] Thank you for Bulfinch's *errata*, and pray, thank him for me when you see him.<sup>9</sup> A friend who points out an error does a kinder office than he who praises a merit. I shall not fail to profit by the corrections. How come they to escape the eye of your critical worship? I am more astonished that you should have overlooked the blunders than that I should have made them. — But that is rather unfair, considering how many of my bad stitches you have had to take up, after all.

[April 22, 1858.] So we have now fairly begun our corrections. Your proofs came in season for me yesterday; but that there may be no delays hereafter, it is better that I should state to you what would be the latest hour at which they can reach me and give me time for corrections. I think you must consider three o'clock on the day after you get the proofs from Metcalf as the latest hour when they should be put into my hands. I can do nothing with them after the sun has set, and the Cambridge wagon calls for

them early on the following morning. I hope that this arrangement will always be convenient for you. By this arrangement the batch you receive from Metcalf this morning should be put into my hands tomorrow by three o'clock, and so on.

[June 30, 1858.] Thank you, dear Folsom, for the correction of the swaddling-clothes blunder, which I have set right, preferring the clothes to the leading-strings, as the language of Don John.

I would suggest to you that in some of your longer notes, written *calamo currente*, you subside into an infinitesimally small hand, somewhat annoying to eyes — or rather half an eye — like mine. I don't want letters as big as a signboard's, but such as a Christian gentleman may reasonably demand who would not shorten his days by endeavouring to decipher the hieroglyphics of the writer.

I congratulate you that we get on as rapidly as when I was in Boston — *rapido si, ma rapido con leggi* — you love a quotation. Those who have said you were not the most punctual of men, know nothing about it, and I will take up the gauntlet for you on this quarrel whenever you desire it.

The last letter in the collection is dated July 24 [1858], six months before Prescott's death:

I am much obliged to you for the favorable judgment you pass upon the present volume [Philip the Second], which, knowing your good-nature, I receive as I should, *cum grano salis*. I can only hope that many a less competent critic may be of your way of thinking.

Folsom's opinion of Prescott is expressed in his address to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences at the time of his friend's death. Prescott, he said, amid all the petty trials of authorship "ever kept his serenity, his superiority to his work." He was "self-relying, because conscious of his high faculties, and of the scrupulous fidelity he had used in seeking for the truth," yet he "welcomed the contradiction of friends while it could aid him in reviewing his own judgments . . . whether as to fact or to expression . . . [His] self-love never was wounded by the sharpest criticism, right or wrong. It was a personal matter, not with him, but with Truth whom he served. If wrong, it glanced off; if right, he laid it upon her altar."

**I**N addition to the Folsom correspondence, the Boston Public Library owns about twenty other letters by Prescott, most



of them belonging to the Chamberlain Collection. The largest group consists of nine letters to Theophilus Parsons, another lifelong friend. The earliest of these was written in 1816, when Prescott was only twenty and on a visit to his grandfather, then U. S. Consul in the Azores. This was Prescott's only direct contact with a Hispanic civilization, and he was not impressed. He comments that the beauties of nature are the only attraction; "as to intellect the Portuguese certainly are the extreme point in the scale of civilized nations."

The letters to Parsons are more intimate than those to Folsom. Prescott calls him "Dear Theoph," whereas Folsom, for the first few years, was addressed as "Dear Sir" and only later as "Dear Folsom." One letter was written the day before Prescott's marriage, on May 3, 1820:

It is so long since your bet became due that I ought to pay interest, but such a thing I believe is contrary to the code of honor, and is still more contrary to the laws of love, which have a right to preside over our bet. However, if I have lost my money, I have got my wife, and I am very willing to pay it as a discount upon a high prize.

Another letter, four years later, announces the birth of a daughter: "Miss —— Prescott, aged 22 hours (9 lb. weight), sends her love to the learned editor of the *U. S. Literary Gazette*. All are doing well. *Valete et plaudite!*"

There are five letters to Joseph G. Cogswell, still another early friend, who had become Librarian of the Astor Library in New York. In one, Prescott writes: "I welcome you home with so rich an argosy." The letter is undated, but probably refers to Cogswell's trip to Europe in 1836. In another note, the historian requests his friend to deliver a book on Spanish architecture to Washington Irving; a third asks him to obtain some volumes needed for his research.

Two letters are addressed to George Ticknor. One, which was printed in Ticknor's *Life of Prescott*, gives the writer's reasons for believing that Petrarch's Laura was a real woman. The other, a one-line note, is inscribed "mea manu scriptum."

The Library owns first editions of all Prescott's works, as well as their early translations into Spanish, French, German, and Dutch. Besides the four histories on which the author's



fame chiefly rests, there is a volume of *Biographical and Critical Miscellanies* (New York, 1845) and a bound copy of *The Club-Room* (1820), a short-lived publication, to which Prescott contributed a few light essays. It was issued by a social and literary club to which the historian had belonged since his early twenties, and of which Folsom, Cogswell, and Ticknor were also members. The first article, written by Prescott, describes the organization:

We are a club of philosophers who meet once a week to communicate our various discoveries and discourse over the results of our separate cogitations. As we are all men of original genius and independent minds, we do not consider ourselves as belonging to any particular sect, or bound to maintain any one set of opinions. In fact, there are more sects than there are members.

An exhibition of Prescott's works and manuscripts has been arranged in the Treasure Room. It will continue until October 1.

## Notes

1. *Journal* for January 25, 1859 in Samuel Longfellow's *Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (Boston 1886), II, 331.

2. In a letter to Longfellow, March 4, 1859. (*Final Memorials of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*), ed. by Samuel Longfellow (Boston, 1887).

3. Printed as an extra number of the *Historical Magazine* (New York, 1859).

4. Quoted by Thomas F. McGann, *Prescott's "Conquests"* in *American Heritage*, October, 1957.

5. The Boston Public Library owns a manuscript catalogue of Prescott's library; it was purchased at the Prescott Sale by Dr. Winslow Lewis and donated by him to the Library. In addition, the Library has a manuscript inventory of Prescott's library; this was acquired at the Root Sale.

6. The lacking pages correspond to Volume I, 233-34, 389-91, 410-33, 452-54; Volume II, 132-56, 263-67, 393-403; Volume III, 3-100, 233-65, of the original edition.

7. The Library has the proof-sheets of Ticknor's *Life*, containing his corrections, with some manuscript notes.

8. This was no doubt Andrews Norton (1786-1853), the Biblical scholar, father of Charles Eliot Norton. In 1833-34 he had been co-editor with Folsom of the *Select Journal of Foreign Periodical Literature*.

9. Probably Thomas Bulfinch (1796-1867), son of the architect and author of the *Age of Fable* and other works.

# The Hunt Collection on the West Indies

(Continued from the January 1959 issue)

By ELLEN M. OLDHAM

ON turning to the more extensive eighteenth- and nineteenth-century section of the Hunt Collection on the West Indies, one wonders how best to present its riches. By individual island? by historical period? or by type of material? Perhaps the most fruitful way is to combine all three methods, remembering that at best only the rarest and most representative items can be mentioned.

One indication of the importance of a geographical area is the accuracy and volume of its cartography. For a maritime civilization, its commercial prominence is related to the extent of the charting of its coasts. Although many maps of the West Indies are included in the histories of the various islands, there are also valuable atlases. Jacques Nicolas Bellin (1703-72), one of the great French cartographers of his time, is best known for his *Petit Atlas Maritime*, but he also prepared several volumes on the Antilles. The *Description Géographique des Isles Antilles Possédées par les Anglois* (Paris, 1758) contains fifteen maps and plans, together with seven views showing the coastal formations. The author pointed out the necessity for every commercial nation to know the lands possessed by its neighbors, especially for France then engaged in the Seven Years' War. The text gives a brief history of the islands, and for the larger ones, a careful description of the coasts. The twenty-four maps and plans of Bellin's *Description Géographique des Débouquements qui sont au nord de l'Isle de Saint Domingue* (Paris, 1768) assisted the French vessels on their return voyage to Europe through the difficult passage to the north of the island.

Thomas Jefferys, "Geographer to His Majesty," is represented in the collection by *A Description of the Spanish Islands and Settlements on the Coast of the West Indies* (London, 1762) with its thirty-two maps of harbors and towns, copied for the most part from Spanish surveys and drawings found on vessels seized by the English. In his manuscript catalog Benjamin

Hunt noted: "In the Introduction will be found a better account than is usually given in histories of the purpose and build of Galleons, Register Ships, &c., and the object of the voyages made in them. By then Jefferys had been working on a complete atlas of the West Indies. That monumental work, containing both hydrographic and geographic maps, first appeared in 1775; the Library has a copy of the 1783 edition. An earlier *West-Indian Pilot* (London, 1766), prepared by Captain Joseph Speer, was designed to help navigators along the so-called "Mosquitoe Shore" and the Gulf of Honduras.

In 1791 appeared the *Recueil de Vues . . . de Saint-Domingue*, a folio designed to accompany Moreau de Saint-Méry's multi-volume work on the French colonies. The plates are divided between views of the harbors and the principal cities. The last two engravings show the plan and elevation of a sugar mill, "inventé par M. Belin et exécuté sur son habitation en société avec M. Raby." Hunt has the following information on Mr. Belin, who may or may not have been related to the cartographer Nicolas Bellin: "The greatest planter of the Colony . . . escaped to the U. S. at the insurrection of 1791. One of his sons was living in poverty in Philadelphia about 1860." Further interest is attached to the copy by three manuscript drawings in ink and water-color — profile of a bridge, "the most solid and least expensive," suitable for the rivers of Saint Domingo; a plan for repairing the fortifications at Cap François; and a carefully drawn "ancien plan du bourg du Cap Dame Marie."

ONE may best acquire an insight into the problems and personalities of a country by studying its laws, and Benjamin Hunt gathered together the laws and acts of a number of the islands. The earliest of the collection is the second edition of *The Laws of Jamaica* (London, 1719). It includes "An Act for the Better Order and Government of Slaves" which states, among others, that "all Slaves shall have Cloths, that is Men Jackets and Drawers and Women Jackets and Petticoats, or Frocks, once every Year, on or before the Twenty Fifth Day of December, upon Penalty of Five Shillings for every Slave's wanting"; "that every Master . . . shall cause all their Slaves

Houses to be diligently and effectually searched once every fourteen Days for Clubs, Wooden Swords, or other mischevi-ous Weapons . . ."; that an abandoned plantation should be destroyed, lest it become a "Receptacle for Fugatives"; and that, to help prevent slave uprisings, no master "shall suffer any Drumming or Meeting of any Slaves, not belonging to their own Plantation." Other acts range from one "Appointing the Prices of Meat" to "An Act for the Restraining and Punishing of Privateers and Pirates."

The fortunes of Jamaica may be further followed through the *Acts of Assembly passed in the Island of Jamaica from 1681 to 1737* (London, 1738), a folio embodying a multitude of acts dealing with taxes and the "suppressing and reducing the rebellious and runaway Negroes." An early Jamaican imprint is the *Acts of Assembly . . . 1770-1783*, published at Kingston by Lewis and Eberall in 1786. While only the active laws were printed in full, the preliminary Table lists all those passed, including interesting private acts such as the one "to enable Robert Rainey, otherwise called John Stewart, to carry into execution his new invented mill for grinding sugar canes, with the power of a fire-engine" and a number of bills like the one "to entitle Bryan M'Kay, a free Quadroon, the reputed Son of William M'Kay, Esquire, to the same Rights and Privileges with English Subjects, under certain Restrictions."

About the year 1791 Alexander Aikman, a Scotchman, became official printer to the Jamaica Assembly. Aikman had emigrated to South Carolina, moving on to Jamaica at the outbreak of the Revolution. From his press at St. Jago de la Vega came in 1795 *The Laws of Jamaica, passed in the thirty-fourth year of the reign of King George the Third*, containing among others "An act to encourage the importation of horses from Great-Britain, by granting a purse to be run for in each county." Each purse was of one hundred pistoles, and entrants in the races had to be either imported or the get of an English stallion, the hope being to raise thereby the quality of the small creole horses. Finally there is the useful *Abridgement of the Laws of Jamaica*. Headings range from Abettors ("those who aide or abet in the counterfeiting or impairing of coins . . .") to Yallah's Bay ("A beam, pair of scales, and set of standard



weights, to be kept here"), and cover bail-bonds, fire-works, manumissions, pirates, public work-houses, wild pigeons, etc., etc.! The Library has the first edition of 1793.

Among the laws relating to other British colonies are the *Acts of Assembly Passed in the Charibbee Leeward Islands* (London, 1734; *Acts of Assembly, Passed in the Island of Nevis* (London, 1740); *The Laws of Montserrat* (London, 1790?); and the *Acts Passed in the Island of Barbados* (London, 1764). Still others include *The Danish Laws* (London, 1756), a translation for the use of English inhabitants of the Danish settlements; and *Laws of the Colony of Dominica* (Roseau, 1818).

THE group of newspapers and periodicals in the Hunt Collection is not large, yet it is suggestive of the many transient publications issued in the islands. The first printing press in Jamaica was set up in 1717 and, as is often the case, its earliest production was a newspaper, *The Weekly Jamaica Courant*, of which only five scattered copies are known. The oldest Jamaican imprint acquired by Hunt was *The Jamaica Mercury and Kingston Weekly Advertiser*, for the year 1779, published by David Douglass and William Aikman, brother of Alexander Aikman.

The first number appeared on May 1 and, like its contemporaries, contained news items; articles such as the first of a series on the cure of fevers; the marine list; legal notices; and many advertisements — goods for sale, things lost and found, runaway slaves. There was a notice that on the evening of May 1 would be presented, by permission of his Excellency the Governor, *The Tragedy of Douglas*; that Jonathan Swigard, "having completed a proper apparatus for the purpose of manufacturing tobacco," had shag and saffron cut for sale, while Samuel John Lightfoot offered chests containing a collection of medicines, together with a "book of plain directions," for twelve pistoles. The paper apparently achieved some success: on July 17 the proprietors announced that most of the earlier numbers were out of print, with the suggestion that "Gentlemen might wish to begin with No. 9, where the History of the American War commences; a work which, they flatter themselves, will give





From "*Histoire des Aventuriers . . .*" by Oexmelin, 1775  
Engraving, reduced



satisfaction to the Public, and add to the reputation of their Mercury." They promised to print a sufficient quantity of spare copies to supply future subscribers.

Of quite different nature are two satirical papers, *The Trifler*, printed weekly at Montego Bay, and *The Bucatoro Journal*, at Kingston; of each the Library has the April-June 1823 numbers. A typical issue reported the meeting of a large band of pirates which passed a resolution thanking Admiral Sir Charles Rowley, Commander-in-chief of Jamaica, for his "tacit approbation and amicable apathy," voting him a medal inscribed "the grateful Pirates to the trading Admiral." Tom Tickler wrote a gossip account of a recent Ball, at which he "noted particularly a tall bouncing widow and would advise her to bend her stays a little more." Among the "advertisements" was the theft of "a pure milk-white steed well known by the name of JUSTICE," while another read "Wanted, a Wife, if at an advanced age, she would be preferred; her beauty will not be considered as much as the length and weight of her purse . . . any Letters addressed *Itsecaintepotsolti*, at Mr. Pomposity's, will be duly attended to." Letters to the Editor were signed by such names as "Fanny Flirt," "Caroline Humpback," and "Weavers Shuttle."

There are short runs from ten Haitian newspapers of the middle nineteenth century. They are of *Le Patriot*; *Feuille de Commerce*; *Le Manifest*; *Le Moniteur Haitien*; *Revue du Commerce*; *Le Travail*; *La République*; *L'Avenir*; *Le Bien Public*; *Le Progrès*, and *L'Opinion Nationale*. When the first issue of *La République* appeared at Port-au-Prince on February 10, 1859 (just after General Geffrard had overthrown the Emperor Soulouque and restored republican government), the Editor, M. Bouchereau, admitted that already three newspapers were published in the town, but he went on to say that, while his paper would summarize the official, commercial, and judicial material found in its rivals, it would concern itself especially with politics, going beyond the printing of simple extracts from foreign newspapers. He also promised to draw the readers as far as possible "au courant de la littérature extérieure." French works were to be especially considered, "since they were written about our own ideas and in the language we speak." Above

all, the paper welcomed native productions: "We offer to young people, who feel a true vocation for literature, an occasion to develop their talents, and to those who already have made their appearance, the advantage to further their study and gather its fruits." Although the first issue contained a poem to President Geffrard, this noble prospect seems never to have been realized. Yet there was, at least, an interest in the education of the young — the issue for July 26, 1859, gives a full account of Geffrard's reception on the preceding Sunday by the school children of the city, reproducing in full the speech of "le jeune Edmond Coicou," the remarks of the young ladies who presented bouquets of flowers and fruit, and the "chant militaire" struck up by music students.

Perhaps the chief interest of the numbers of *Le Progrès*, dating from August to December 1860, lies in the news and other articles emanating from the United States, such as a long letter from the Abolitionist James Redpath, founder of the Haitian Emigrant Bureau in Boston and New York, defending the character of the Negroes of the Northern states; the eloquent editorial on the election of "l'abolitioniste Lincoln"; and the item headed "Troubles au Kansas." *Le Progrès* was succeeded, under the same editorship, by *L'Opinion Nationale*. Cultural events of the community seem to have found a greater place in this newspaper than in the others; the June 8, 1861 issue, for instance, included a review of several new books, among them the third series of *Essais Dramatiques* by Liautaud Ethéart, a Haitian writer, of whose work Hunt, who had known him personally, remarks: "They were very readable and such as one with a decided taste and some talent for, and much reading in, the drama, might be supposed to produce." The reviewer of the *Opinion*, while pointing out certain faults in the two plays in Ethéart's volume, believed: "The good qualities predominate. The plays have energy and interest, the characters are well-drawn, and there is an understanding of the stage."

OF all the West Indian islands, the one named Hispaniola by Columbus, St. Domingue by the French, and known today as



Haiti and the Dominican Republic most interested Benjamin Hunt. Here he resided from 1842 to 1858, serving for ten years as United States Consul at Port-au-Prince. In 1869, when the United States was considering annexation of the Dominican Republic, President Grant appointed him as a special agent, but he had to decline on account of poor health.

Haiti had many romantic characters — chief among them the ex-slave Toussaint L'Ouverture, who opposed the armies of Napoleon and was called by Lamartine "more than just a man — a nation" and Henri Christophe, the Black Emperor with his "Sans Souci" palace and the unfinished citadel, "la Ferrière." The classic account of Haiti's colonial days may be considered that of Moreau de St.-Méry, who, after practicing law at Cap François was admitted to the upper house of the St. Domingue council about 1780. Shortly before the outbreak of the French Revolution St.-Méry returned to Paris, where he busied himself with writing about the affairs of the colonies. In 1793, to escape the vengeance of Robespierre, he fled to the United States, working as a book-seller in Philadelphia until 1798. It was here that he published the *Description topographique et politique . . . de la Partie Espagnole de l'Isle Saint-Domingue*, 1769, and the *Description de la Partie Français de l'Isle Saint-Domingue*, 1797, each in two volumes. Of the latter work Hunt wrote in his catalog:

This work is greatly prized by the Haytians of the present day. Its value chiefly consists in the detailed information which it gives as to the soil productions, temperature and other special characteristics of the various localities . . . It presents, in all respects but one, a truthful picture of the colony, as it existed in 1789. Of slavery, which the author, of course, considered essential to the existence of the colony, only the bright side is given, as the book was intended to be a planter's guide, after the expected restoration of the colony to the French. It is now very rare, probably because many copies of the small edition found their way, partly as merchandise, out to the colony with the planters, who accompanied Le Clerc's Expedition, and perished with their owners, or were lost in the destruction of property accompanying the extermination of the remaining whites by Dessalines.

These two books on Saint Domingue formed the concluding section of St.-Méry's earlier works, the six-volume *Lois et Con-*



*stitutions des Colonies Françaises de l'Amerique* (Paris, 1785-90) and the *Recueil de Vues* described above.

In 1847 the Director of the Lycée National of Port-au-Prince, Thomas Madiou, published a *Histoire d'Haiti* in three volumes, the most readable of all the historical narratives written by Haitians, being clear and simple, and not too diffuse, though going into minute detail. Mr. Hunt gives a graphic picture of its publication:

The author had much troublesome work in getting it through a poorly appointed press. A few sheets at a time, used often to be seen hanging up to dry in the ground floor, open printing office at Port-au-Prince, during the years 1847-8. He brings events down only to 1807, as far probably as he dared. Madiou was born in Hayti in 1814, and entirely educated there. Since the publication of his history, he has been much employed by the various administrations, both at home and abroad, and especially as the editor of the government organ, the "Moniteur Haytien." He is in appearance nearly white, with European features and straight hair.

The best story of the Haitian revolution is to be found in the *Mémoires* . . . of François Joseph Pamphile De-la-Croix, who as a young man of twenty-eight was attached to Le Clerc's expedition as Chief of Staff. "He impresses one," Hunt observes, "with the air of candor and impartiality with which he writes . . . The remarkable traits of character, exhibited by Toussaint, and now well known, were first recorded in this book." The earliest printed notice of the black general, however, appeared in 1793 when a planter by the name of Gros, held captive by the rebels, told how on more than one occasion he was saved by the "nègre Toussaint à Bréda" from the more violent Negroes. The author escaped to Baltimore where his *Récit Historique* was published. Many other former land-owners wrote of their experiences, and nearly all set forth some plan for restoring the colony to France. A few may be mentioned — Abeille's *Essai* (Paris, 1805); Carteau's *Soirées Bermudiennes* (Bordeaux, 1802); Lattre's *Campagnes des Français à St. Dominique* (Paris, 1805); and Malenfant's *Des Colonies* . . . (Paris, 1814). This last Hunt calls "one of the best books written by an old colon; it is full of facts and information relating to the old regime, given with an air of truthfulness and

candor, both as to whites and blacks." It is against re-enslavement.

The earliest biography of Toussaint is the one by Louis Dubroca, a Parisian book-seller, published in 1802 to sustain Bonaparte's policy in sending out Le Clerc's expedition. This was followed immediately by that of Charles Yves Cousin which, according to Hunt, was "taken, word for word, from Dubroca's *Vie de Toussaint L'Ouverture*, even to its misspellings; Dubroca's notes are incorporated in the text with some additions, made, apparently, to escape copy-right law penalties." Accounts by mulattoes include the *Mémoire Historique* (Paris, 1818) by Augustin Regis — "homme de couleur" as the title-page reads — from the Spanish part of the island; and the 400-page volume of the Haitian Joseph Saint-Rémy (Paris, 1850). Of the English biography by John Reilly Beard (London, 1853), Hunt complains that it was "compiled from ordinary sources of information, and gives an exaggerated view of the virtues of Toussaint, and a one-sided account of his character." It was Saint-Rémy, a barrister from Cayes, Haiti, who in 1853 edited the *Mémoires du Général Toussaint-L'Ouverture écrits par lui-même*. Hunt relates:

Written in prison, a short time before his death, to ask a trial and, according to a literal extract, given by Ardouin . . . in almost unintelligible French, which was corrected by Martial Besse, a Haytian, for a time, Toussaint's fellow prisoner at Joux. The "Mémoires" were not noticed by Napoleon, and for fifty years they lay almost unknown in the "Archives Générales" of France. Toussaint's purpose was to set himself right — in a French point of view — before Bonaparte. In reading these "Mémoires" the impression of silent resignation and dignity, with which we are so much struck, in the account of Pamphile-de-la-Croix, disappears. They remind us of Bonaparte's own special pleadings, to set himself right before the world, at St. Helena. In leading features of character, Toussaint and Bonaparte had much in common. In the exercise of their wonderful administrative powers, used in carrying out their plans, they were both utterly unscrupulous — not revengeful, but coldly cruel, seeking the material prosperity of the country, at the expense of the happiness of the people, and both wanting in truthfulness and magnanimity.

Beaubrun Ardouin's *Etudes sur l'Histoire d'Hayti* (Paris, 1855-60) in eleven volumes is important as "the only connected

history, extant, of the administration of Boyer, from 1822 to 1843, the culminating period of Haytian prosperity. Ardouin, a warm supporter of Boyer, was once his minister to France, and held various offices in his cabinet. Banished by Soulouque, he went to Paris where he wrote this book, and died in 1865. He was a light mulatto." A further source for the period of Boyer's government is the *Mémoires* of Joseph Inginac, the Secretary-General and right-hand man of Boyer, of whom Hunt further writes: "During the twenty years of Boyer's government, he is believed to have been as faithful to the public good as it was possible to be and still hold his position." Inginac went into voluntary exile with Boyer to Jamaica in 1843, where his book was published; two years later he was permitted to return to Haiti, dying in poverty and blindness in 1847. S. Lamour's *Justification de la Conduite Politique d'Alexandre Pétion* (Port-au-Prince, 1860) defends the conduct of the mulatto successor of Toussaint as President of the southern part of Haiti.

Among contemporary accounts of Soulouque, perhaps better known as Faustin I, the most important is *L'Empereur Soulouque et son Empire* by Maxime Raybaud, written originally for the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. As French Consul General at Haiti, the author had access to the best information, and lived in almost daily intercourse with Faustin and his advisers, with whom he had much influence. Again Hunt remarks:

His account of affairs is substantially true, and it is the only one, at all connected, which we have of transactions in Hayti, from 1847 to 1855. But the air of banter and ridicule, and the display of smartness, with which everything is treated, detract from its value. I know of no other reason why the author should have written under the assumed name of "D'Alaux" than that it enabled him to set forth the efficiency of the French Consul General, in times of trouble, in strong contrast with the conduct of Mr. Ussher, the British Consul, whom he unjustly describes as utterly wanting in energy and self-possession.

The volume was translated into English and published at Richmond, Virginia, in 1861, apparently, as Hunt comments, "to show the ridiculous figure, which negroes make at self-government."

(To be concluded)

# Albrecht von Eyb on Marriage

By MARGARET MUNSTERBERG

A BOOK of interest to the student of German Renaissance literature is a treatise discussing the question whether or not it is desirable to take a wife — *Ob einem Manne zu nemen ein Eeweib oder nit* by Albrecht von Eyb. The Library has acquired a copy of the 1540 edition, printed at Augsburg by Heinrich Steiner, and noteworthy for its numerous woodcuts, two of which have been attributed to Hans Weiditz. The work was first published in Nürnberg in 1472 by Koberger, then by Creussner; an Augsburg edition by Günther Zainer followed in 1473, and there were nine more editions before 1500, including one in the Netherlands. The 1540 edition is a quarto of 78 leaves, printed in Gothic type. The Library already has, in its incunabula collection, a Latin work by Eyb, the *Margarita Poetica* ("Poetic Pearls"), a compilation of Latin prose and poetry.

Albrecht von Eyb was one of the first German writers influenced by Italian humanism. In some respects he was medieval, in others, notably the cult of classic Roman authors, a "modern." He wrote in both Latin and German. The book on marriage, briefly referred to as the *Ehebüchlein*, belongs among "the most beautiful early German books," according to Max Herrmann, author of the biographical and critical study *Albrecht von Eyb und die Frühzeit des deutschen Humanismus* (Berlin, 1893).

In his brief preface Eyb introduces himself as "Doctor of both civil and canon laws, Archdeacon of Würzburg, Canon of Bamberg and Eichstätt." However, he dedicates his work to the imperial city of Nürnberg, "from especial love, good will, and inclination." Born in 1420, Eyb first studied at the university of Erfurt; then, in 1440, he went to Italy where he attended the universities of Pavia, Bologna, and possibly Padua. Back in the quiet cathedral city of Eichstätt, he served the Frankish dynasty of the Hohenzollern, and the *Ehebüchlein* contains a tribute to the "Princess Barbara, Marchioness of Mantua, born von Brandenburg, who speaks four languages."



Eyb's life was not lacking in drama; he even tasted imprisonment when he upheld a claim to a prebend. But more important is the fact that, in his juridical capacity, he had to deal with a surprising amount of marriage litigation. Indeed, he won the reputation of a specialist in the field.

He first produced Latin works. In 1452 he wrote several little tracts, the first with the title *Tractatus de speciositate barbare puellule* ("On the beauty of German girls"). His *Margarita Poetica* was composed in 1462. It was in the last years of his not very long life that he appeared as a writer in German. His *Ehebüchlein* was followed by his *Spiegel der Sitten* ("Mirror of Morals") in 1474; and he made many translations of Latin plays, posthumously printed. He died in 1475.

The answer to the question whether it is proper or not for a man to take a wife was drawn, according to the title, from the ancient philosophers, orators, and poets. The book is, indeed, largely a compilation culled from literature ranging from Socrates to Petrarch, and even beyond to Eyb's contemporaries. On the verso of the first leaf the author sets forth the scheme of the work: "In the first part I want to present what there is of trouble, worry, error, pain and toil, and with it also what there is of pleasure and joy in the married state . . . In the second, I answer the question and conclude that a man should take a wife; and at the same time I tell also some pleasing tales. In the third and last part I wish to describe a merry wedding with a delectable meal and household . . . and end with some nice morals and stories."

In the first part there is enough misogyny under the seal of Theophrastus, Gorgias the rhetorician, Cicero, Apuleius, Juvenal, Terence, Plautus, etc. to discourage the most sanguine groom. Even Petrarch, the idealizing lover of Laura, furnishes his drop of pessimism in regard to women. But he was also fair. "And if your wife," he is quoted, "breaks her faithfulness to you, consider if you have not also broken yours to her. Unchaste men are unrighteous judges, excusing themselves with plausible words while condemning and punishing their wives." In the midst of all the gloom about woman's nature, instances are given of heroic women who prized chastity above life. The story of the Roman Lucretia is the first of such tales; Eyb may

have translated it from the Latin of Salutato Coluccio, a Florentine writer of the fourteenth century.

The second part leads to the conclusion that man must marry so that the world may be peopled. Two famous stories fall into this part. The first is Boccaccio's tale of Guiscardo and Ghismonda (Sigismunda in the German version), probably translated from the Latin of Leonardus Aretinus. A curious addition on the part of Eyb is the title which points a particular moral: "That women and maidens should be given husbands at the right time." It is not necessary to go into the details of the story — which was translated twenty-six times, not counting translations of the whole *Decameron* — about the father who, after having his daughter's secret lover killed, sent her his heart in a golden cup, whereupon she kissed it, drank poison, and died. The other story, "How a woman should behave in the absence of her husband," was also frequently retold. Aro-nus, departing for Alexandria on business, enjoins his wife Marina that, in case a chaste life should prove too difficult, she should take a discreet man for a lover. After long seclusion, Marina chooses a wise doctor called Dagmanus. He, however, asks her first to help him carry out a vow of a year's fasting of which sixty days remain. Accordingly, she subsists on bread and water, growing weaker from day to day, until with her vitality her libidinous desires have vanished — which was what the doctor intended.

The third part, of the wedding banquet treats of entertaining and conversation, according to the ideas of Socrates, Epicurus, and other authorities. With some surprise one comes to the chapter on "Miserable sickness and the repulsiveness of human nature," containing the remark: "In our time few people live to be forty and very few to be sixty; and he who attains this age, his heart and mind are harrowed." The two final chapters consist of translations. One is the German version of Poggio Bracciolini's *An seni sit uxor ducenda*, and the other is advice given by St. Bernard to the knight Raimundus, Lord of the Castle St. Ambrose, on the administration of his household.

The volume is illustrated with 26 woodcuts, including one that fills three-fourths of the title-page. This shows a bishop performing a marriage ceremony, with men and women at-

tendants on either side of the bride and groom. The women hold rosaries, and one of the men has a drum. The Catalogue of the C. Fairfax Murray library of early German books identifies a number of the cuts. The first after the title-page is a full-page picture of a nude woman with long hair, arm upraised, which is attributed to Hans Weiditz as taken from Cicero's *De Officiis* printed by Steiner in 1531. A pleasantly detailed interior shows a new-born infant about to be bathed by a nurse, while the mother, lying in a canopied bed, is being served a meal. The next cut, heading the chapter on "dowry, riches, and poverty," presents two men standing stiffly with swords at their sides, and a third seated at an opulently decked table. This has again been attributed to Weiditz, as probably from the *Celestina* of 1520. Striking is a full-page picture of the Creation, with God taking Eve from the rib of Adam, while animals sport in Paradise. The picture of God joining the hands of Adam and Eve, almost symmetrical in design, is by Jörg Breu, a native of Augsburg, as is also the scene of a betrothal.

The ten small cuts illustrating the story of Guiscard and Sigismunda were taken, with one substitution, from the *Translationes* of Nicolas Wyle printed by Steiner in 1536; they are all animated and expressive. A two-fold picture showing a woman caressing her husband and then pulling his hair is a copy of a cut used by Zainer in 1476. A pleasant banquet scene, with a man presiding over a wine-cooler at the left, has been tentatively attributed to Breu, as is a similar one with men sitting round a table and a woman standing. A particularly interesting cut representing a phlebotomy was copied from a larger cut of Weiditz in the *Cicero* of 1531, except that in the *Ehebüchlein* there is a window in back. This window has a special charm — it looks out on an admirably composed landscape.

## A Dickens Exhibit in the Treasure Room

FIRST editions and autograph letters of Charles Dickens have been placed on view in the Treasure Room, as the Library's share in celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the Boston Branch of the Dickens Fellowship.

Published first in parts, with new installments appearing each week or month, the novels of Dickens have been read and loved for generations, and their lively illustrations by such artists as George Cruikshank and H. K. Browne ("Phiz") have created a world of characters familiar to all. It has been said that "Dickens is essentially a collectors' author, for the reason that his books in their original state make an irresistible appeal"; but the appeal is equally irresistible for the casual visitor who may never hope to own a first edition.

*Oliver Twist* first ran as a serial in Bentley's *Miscellany* from 1837-39. The Library has the reprint in three volumes, which went to press while the serial still had six months to run. George Cruikshank's plates, already inseparable from the story in the popular imagination, were used and new ones were hurriedly drawn for the last volume. Dickens, who did not see the latter until after their publication, strongly objected to one entitled "Fireside" and insisted on a superior one to replace it. The Library's set contains the plate preferred by the author.

When Dickens wrote the first installment of *Master Humphrey's Clock*, in 1840, he had in mind a scheme for introducing a "knot of characters" who would recount their experiences week by week. Circulation, however, was not so great as expected and, to attract subscribers, the continued stories of *The Old Curiosity Shop* and *Barnaby Rudge* were added. The Library's set of the entire eighty-eight parts is in the finest condition, the white covers unsoiled and unrumpled.

Such was the impact of Dickens's writing on his readers that the death of little Paul in *Dombey and Son* caused veritable mourning in England. This novel, begun in June 1846, caused its author considerable trouble. During its publication (1846-48) he was living in Paris. As an installment turned out to be two pages short, he boarded the diligence and was on his way to London to supply the copy. At other times when the copy was too long, he asked the publisher, John Forster, to cut it according to his own judgment. The illustrations, too, were a problem: Hablot Knight



Browne did the engravings, but Dickens complained that one cut was "frightfully and wildly wide of the mark."

*David Copperfield* (1849-50) is represented in the exhibit by the American edition in parts. It was stated on the wrapper that the edition was "reprinted from proof sheets received by special arrangement from the London publishers" — something rare in those days of piratical editions. Today one of the best-loved of the novels, at its first appearance the work was a failure as a money-maker. *Black House*, which followed, was much more popular. Some of the illustrations for the latter were produced by a new method known as "dark plates," and copies with such plates are especially desirable. *Little Dorrit*, which first appeared in 1855, was the last book to be published by Bradbury & Evans. The next book included in the exhibit, *Our Mutual Friend*, was issued by Chapman and Hall in 1864-65.

*A Christmas Carol*, published in December 1843, was the first of five such volumes written by Dickens to celebrate the holiday season, the others being *The Chimes*, *The Cricket on the Hearth*, *The Battle of Life*, and *The Haunted Man*. In an attempt to further the Christmas atmosphere, the publishers, at the novelist's request, experimented with a title-page in red and green and end-papers of the latter shade. The colors, however, turned out to be so garish that they appeared only in the trial issues. The title-page of the Library's first edition is done, therefore, in a subdued red and blue, with yellow end-papers. The illustrations are hand-tinted etchings by John Leech.

The autograph letters, all signed with Dickens's handsome flourished signature, are chosen from a collection of twenty-five, dating between 1839 and 1867. In a note written in 1843 the author appealed to the "Gentlemen of the Stock Exchange" for subscriptions on behalf of the seven orphaned children of Edward Elton, an actor; and another complains to the New River Company that "my supply of water is often absurdly insufficient."

Three notes were written during his visits to Boston: one, dated at the Tremont House on January 25, 1842, thanks the comedian Joseph Field for a manuscript — undoubtedly of the skit *Boz: A Masque Phrenologic*, which the actor had written and performed at the gala performance in honor of Dickens the night before. The other two come from his second stay in 1867; one addressed to Henry Dexter, who did a fine bust of him, and the other, written on Christmas Eve, thanking Captain Dolliver of the Boston Customs House for a spray of mistletoe.

## A Much-Traveled Book Returns to Boston

THE Rare Book Department of the Library has recently received an unusual gift — a volume which was part of the old Boston Town House Library, before the building's destruction by fire in 1711. Generously donated by the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, the book is *The Shepherd of Israel*, a collection of sermons on the Twenty-third Psalm by Obadiah Sedgwick, printed in London in 1658. Sedgwick, born about 1600, was a Puritan divine who held several parishes in England, the last being that of St. Paul's, Covent Garden. He died early in 1658, and *The Shepherd of Israel* was prepared for the press by four friends to whom he had bequeathed his manuscripts.

It would be interesting to trace the whole history of the present volume; there are at least a few hints in inscriptions on the fly-leaves. The earliest, written upside down on the last leaf, reads "Ex dono rev<sup>di</sup> Dmi Johan Knowles" — in all likelihood the non-conformist John Knowles who spent the years 1639-50 in America, mostly in Watertown, Bay Colony, and may have sent the volume to an American friend.

At all events, in 1709 the book belonged to "ye Town Library in Boston," as the front fly-leaf bears witness. "Boston Town Lib<sup>y</sup>" appears also on the title-page. The Boston Town House, which Josiah Benton called "the cradle of representative government in the New World," stood on the site of the present Old State House. It had its inception in the will of Captain Robert Keayne, which, probated in 1656, bequeathed three hundred pounds towards a "Market place & Cundit," to provide a dry warm place for country people who brought their provisions to sell in the town, and also offer "some convenient room or too for the Courts to meete in" and "a convenient roome for a Library & a gallery or some other handsome roome for the Elders to meete in," and finally to serve as a granary and armory. The contract for the building for which public subscriptions were raised, called for its completion in 1658, but it was not ready until the following year. To help furnish the Library, Captain Keayne's will provided that, after his wife and son had made their choice of some of them, his books — or such as were thought fit for that use — were to go to the town of Boston.

The Town House Library grew, by gift and purchase, and in 1702 a catalog was made. Unfortunately, shortly after Sedgwick's sermons reached it — if 1709 may be taken as an accession date —

the Town House was destroyed. On Tuesday, October 2, 1711, fire broke out in a tenement in Cornhill, which swept through this crowded part of the city, consuming both the Town House and the Meeting House, as well as many dwellings. Doubtless many of the books in the Library were burned; some however were on loan at the time, and some were pillaged during the excitement. On June 8, 1713, as plans were being made to rebuild the Town House, an advertisement appeared in the *Boston News Letter* desiring "All Persons that have in their keeping, or can give notice of any of the Town Library . . ." to inform the Treasurer. The notice went on to state, "The first volume of Pool's Annotations was carryed away in the late Fire in Boston; any Person that has it, or any other Books, carry'd away at that time, or any other Goods, are desired to bring them to the Post Office, that the true Owners may have them again."

In some fashion, *The Shepherd of Israel* was saved, and by 1739 found its way into the hands of Charles Chamber, whose signature appears on the fly-leaf. He must have been Charles Chambers of Charlestown (1660-1743), the sea-captain and merchant after whom Chambers Street, in Boston's West End, was named.

For nearly a century and a quarter there is no indication of the book's travels. The last note, written inside the front cover, is dated Dec. 21, 1863. It reads: Am. Antiquarian Society. Rec<sup>d</sup> from Rev. S. D. Bowker of Newmarket N. H. in exchange for A.A.S. Catalogue." Dr. Bowker was rector of the Congregational Church of Newmarket. And now at last the volume has been returned home for good, to the "Town" or Public Library of Boston.

ELLEN M. OLDHAM

# The Boston Public Library Quarterly

## Index to Volumes I-X, 1948-58

By MARGY P. SHARPE

THE following index includes the subjects of articles — and major topics discussed in articles — which appeared in the first ten years of *The Boston Public Library Quarterly*. The titles of articles are not entered separately, and no attempt has been made to list all the names mentioned in them. In the case of a general article describing a number of rare books and manuscripts, only the manuscripts have been entered, since these are unique; with the exception of letters, these have been designated by the symbol (Mss.). The names of contributors of signed articles, with the titles of articles, are given.

References are to volume and page.

- A** *BRAAM E SARRA*, VII, 143; see also *Rappresentazioni Actes des Apostres, Les*, VIII, 209-13; see also *Rappresentazioni*
- Adams, Hannah: early American woman historian, VIII, 85-88
- Adams, John: classical politics of, IX, 167-82; letter to Rufus King, IV, 58; library of, III 109-26, *illus.*, book from, 115; and Turgot I, 3-32
- Adams, Samuel: broadside signed by, IV, 59; and Thomas Hutchinson, X, 119-30, 203-12
- A., E. L.: "Imperium of America," VI, 61-63
- Aesop, life of, IX, 161-63
- Alain de Lille [Alanus de Insulis]: Parables of, VII, 34-42, *illus.*, page from, 35
- Albaleta del Arzobispo, manuscript of town of, VIII, 104
- Alciati, Andrea: French version of Emblems [*Livret des Emblemes*], VI, 188-90
- Alcott, Bronson: child's place in philosophy of, IV, 88-96
- Aldegati, Marc Antonio: *In Cynthiam* (Mss.), VII, 76-77
- Alden, John: "An Outstanding Gift of Manuscripts," VIII, 104-07; "Sarah Orne Jewett to Mellen Chamberlain," IX, 86-96
- Alfonso XI of Spain: Chronicles of, I, 173-74
- America: early allusions to [*De Rerum Praenotione*, Mirandola], III, 165-67; imperium of, VI, 61-63; American Lyceum and



- Josiah Holbrook, VIII, 26-38; Gov. F. Bernard for a nobility in, IV, 125-38; paper-making by hand in, V, 166-69; *The Spirit of Young America*, IV, 110-11
- American Revolution: Francis Richardson on the last battles of the, X, 106-09; difficulties in Mass. following the, III, 15-54; 127-42; poets and the centennial exposition of the, V, 114-15; see also Gordon, William; Shays's Rebellion
- Anabaptists: *Bloody Newes from Dover*, I, 172-73; and Book of Common Prayer, II, 119-55
- "The Anarchiad" and the *Massachusetts Centinel*, IV, 97-100
- Anderson, John Q.: "Emerson and Manifest Destiny," VII, 23-42; "Emerson and Prince Achille Murat," X, 27-37
- Anselm of Marsico, Bishop: comments on *Prophetiae de Pontificibus* (Mss.), IV, 200-09.
- Antarctica: first recognition of, IV, 3-19, *illus.*, entry in logbook about, 13
- Antiphonary: leaves from antiphonaries from Bologna, Siena, Florence, Venice, VII, 74-75; Armenian hymnal, IX, 64
- Anti-Slavery: Lydia Maria Child, III, 251-75, IV, 34-49; George W. Curtis, VIII, 115-34; John Pierpont, VIII, 195-200; Weston Sisters, IX, 183-94, X, 38-50; Irish support of, X, 175-87
- Apologia por la noble nacion de los Indios*, VI, 235-41
- Apple-Tree-Table Tale, The, VIII, 213-15
- Athanasian, Creed, a Spanish friar on the [*Super Quicumque Vult*, Castroval], IX, 211-13
- Athlone, Earl of: letters of, from 1691-1703, II, 49-62
- Audubon, John James: letter to Victor Audubon, IV, 58-59
- Austen, Jane: last novels of, I, 86-88

**B**ACON, Sir Francis: *Sylva Sylvarum*, III, 86-87

- Balzac, Honoré: Balzac centenary, II, 317-26; *illus.*, from *Contes Drolatiques*, 321
- Barberino, Andrea da: early French version of *Guernino* [*L'Hystoire de Guerin*], VIII, 108-11
- Barclay, Alexander: *Ship of Fools*, III, 241-44
- Barham, Richard Harris: see Ingoldsby, Thomas
- Barrie, James M.: letters to the Duchess of Sutherland, V, 38-47
- Bartlett, Irving H.: "The Puritans as Missionaries," II, 93-118
- Barton, Thomas P.: "The Library's First Folio of Shakespeare," X, 63-77
- Bates, Joshua: letters to Maria and Hervey Weston, IX, 107-09

- Bay Psalm Book*, new information about the, IX, 3-10; *illus.*, title-page, VI, 7
- Beacon Hill: early views of, VIII, 171-80, *illus.*, "The Cutting-Down of Beacon Hill," fac. p. 174, "Beacon Hill from Derne Street," fac. p. 178
- Beethoven, Ludwig: receipt for 12 gold ducats (Mss.), IV, 61
- Belial*: see Theramo, Jacobus de
- Benson, Frank W.: painter and etcher, IV, 102-07, *illus.*, "The Marsh Gunner," 103
- Berkshire county, the first century, IX, 20-39
- Bernard, Gov. Francis, of Massachusetts: for an American nobility, IV, 125-38
- Berthoff, Warner B.: "Jones Very: New-England Mystic," II, 63-76
- Bible: American Bible illustrations, X, 154-57; illustrated Bibles, II, 376-78; *Biobla Naomhtha*, VII, 153-54
- Biddle, George: lithographs by, VII, 43-47, *illus.*, "Young Girl's Head," 45
- Birdsall, Richard: "The First Century of Berkshire County," IX, 20-39
- Bishop, Alison: "Sonnets and Etchings," III, 163-65; "Barclay's *Ship of Fools*," III, 241-44; "Jack London in a Confident Mood," III, 312-14; "Civil War Sketches," IV, 27-33; "*The Spirit of Young America*," IV, 110-11; "Valentine Writer's Manual," IV, 162-63; "Richardson Discusses his *Clarissa* and *Grandison*," IV, 217-21; "Art of Botanical Illustration," V, 56-69; "Paper-making in America," V, 166-69
- Blagden, Isa: letters to Kate Field, III, 210-20
- Blake, William: *illus.*, "Hesiod and the Muses," [with John Flaxman] VI, 105
- Boaistuau, Pierre: *Chelidonius Tigurinus sur l'Institution des Princes Chrestiens*, III, 316-17
- Boccaccio: *Genealogia Deorum*, VI, 117-19; VII, 147-48; French version of *De Claris Mulieribus* [*De la louange et vertu des Nobles et Cleres Dames*], VII, 85-86., *illus.*, page from, 83
- Bone, Muirhead: *illus.*, "A Spanish Good Friday," III, 235; *illus.*, "Joseph Conrad Listening to Music," X, fac. p. 51
- Bonstellen, Albrecht von: *Vademecum* with Dürer woodcuts, IX, 72, 214-15
- Book of Common Prayer: first book of, I, 93-111, *illus.*, title-page of, fac. p. 93; revisions of the, II, 21-48, 119-55; and Plymouth plantation, II, 197-230; see also Anabaptists
- Book of Hours: Bruges, IX, 62; Flemish [Ghent-Bruges], III, 35-

- 43, *illus.*, border, fac. p. 38; French, VII, 73; Italian, IX, 62-63; Pigouchet printed edition, IX, 65; of Rennes, IX, 195-205; of the use of Sarum, IX, 61; VII, 72-74, *illus.*, page with initial, fac. p. 74; *illus.*, page from Tory's Book of Hours, III, 193
- Book of Kells, facsimile of the, III, 161-63
- Borome, Joseph A.: "Winsor's *History of America*," V, 119-39
- Boston: first book printed in, VIII, 75; see also Beacon Hill
- Boston Public Library: founding of, IV, 115-24; Treasure Room of, VI, 3-22; VII, 115-27; X, 218-20
- Botanical illustration, the art of, V, 56-59
- Botany, pharmaceutical, I, 81-83
- Bouchet, Jean: *S'Ensuyvent les Regnars*, VIII, 49-51; IX, 68
- Bradford, Cornelia: early American woman printer, X, 14-15
- Bradford, William; *illus.*, title-page of his *History*, II, 196; see also Puritans; Plymouth plantation
- Bragdon, Capt. Joshua: letter to Col. James Scamman, VIII, 106
- Brandt, Sebastian: *Narrenschiff*, III, 241-44
- Breviary: early Franciscan, III, 276-79; Latin (Milan or Venice), IX, 16-19, *illus.*, page, fac. p. 16, *illus.*, front cover, fac. p. 18
- Bristed, John: *Hints on the National Bankruptcy*, III, 122-25
- Broderick, John C.: "Thoreau and *My Prisons*," VII, 48-50
- Browning, Elizabeth Barrett: *Poems*, 1850, VIII, 181-94; and Pasquale Villari, IX, 40-47
- Browning, Robert: and Pasquale Villari, IX, 40-47
- Bunker, Capt. Samuel: *Journal of a Whaling Voyage* (Mss.), VII, 156-60
- Burlamaqui, Jean-Jacques: *Principles of Natural and Political Law*, III, 113-17
- Burroughs, Francis: deed from William Penn (Mss.), VIII, 106
- Burton, Robert: *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, II, 89-91
- Byron, George Gordon, Lord: first editions of, I, 169-72; letter to Richard B. Hoppner, IV, 60

**C**ALDERÓN DE LA BARCA: James Russell Lowell on, VI, 190-91

- Callot, Jacques: *Les Misères et Malheurs de la Guerre, Vita Beatae Mariae*, VII, 149, 167-69; *Lux Claustri*, VII, 167-69
- Caricature, portraits in, VI, 223-28
- Carnival play: see Gengenbach, Pamphilus
- Carroll, Lewis [Charles L. Dodgson]: letter, IV, 60-61
- Carta de Hidalguia; see Fuentes, Pedro de; Roxo, Francisco Perez

- Castroval, Pedro de: *Super Quicunque Vult*, IX, 65; 211-13
- Cartas curiosas y edificantes*: see Jesuits
- Celestina* [*Calisto y Melibea*] (Fernando de Rojas): 1502 edition, VI, 206-22, *illus.*, title-page, 211; influence of in England, VII, 224-25; 226-27
- Céspedes, Andrés García de: *Regimiento de Navegación y de la Hidrografía*, V, 54-56
- Chamberlain, Mellen: letters from Sarah Orne Jewett, IX, 86-96
- Chapman, Maria Weston: letter from Joshua Bates, IX, 107-09; and the Anti-Slavery movement, IX, 183-94; X, 38-50; portrait, IX, 187
- Charron, Pierre: *La Sagesse*, II, 379-81
- Child, Lydia Maria: as historian, VIII, 95-96; and Anti-Slavery movement, III, 251-75; IV, 34-49
- Chilton, Thomas: as ghost author of David Crockett's *Autobiography*, III, 294-304
- Chirico, Giorgio de: *illus.*, "The Sons of Arconte," IX, 157
- Christine de Pisan: *Livre des Trois Vertus* (Mss.), II, 291-305, *illus.*, miniature, fac. p. 291
- Ciry, Michel: prints of, V, 107-10, *illus.*, "St. Jean," fac. p. 108
- Civil War Sketches [Winslow Homer and A. J. Volck]: IV, 27-33
- Civil War soldier, journal of a [Charles H. Woodwell], VII, 50-51
- Cliché-verre, V, 159-63
- Coe, William C.: "Flemish Book of Hours," III, 35-43
- Cohen, B. Bernard: "Sources of Hawthorne's 'The Ambitious Guest,'" IV, 221-24; "Emerson and Hawthorne on England," IX, 73-85
- Coleridge, Samuel Taylor: *Lyrical Ballads* [pub. anonymously with William Wordsworth], IV, 70-74; letter, IV, 60
- Commissio ducalis*: see Gritti, Andreas; Zani, Hieronymus
- Concord Libraries, Emerson and the, III, 318-19
- Coolidge, Theresa: "Bloody News from Dover," I, 172-73; "A Gift from Brigham Young," II, 286-87; "Collection of French War Posters," III, 314-16; "The Poets and the Centennial Exposition," V, 114-15
- Corot, Jean-Baptiste-Camille: *illus.*, "Le Grand Cavalier sous Bois," V, fac. p. 160
- Cotton, John: and the *Bay Psalm Book*, IX, 3-10; portrait, fac. p. 6
- Council or Torgau in Silesia: letter from Martin Luther, IV, 61
- Court records, early New England, VI, 160-84
- Cranach, Lucas the elder: *Der Heiligen XII Apostlen*, X, 167-70
- Cranch, Christopher Pearce: and James Russell Lowell, II, 378-79



- Cranmer, Archbishop Thomas: and the *Book of Common Prayer*, II, 21-48, portrait, fac. p. 26
- Crockett, David: *Autobiography*, III, 294-304
- Cross, Doris L.: "The Art of Ingenuity," I, 85-86
- Crouch, Mary: early American woman printer, X, 146-50
- Cruikshank, George: drawings for "The Drunkard's Children," VIII, 160-62, *illus.*, page, fac. p. 160
- Curtis, George W.: and Anti-Slavery, VIII, 115-34, photograph, 121

**D**ANKER, Frederick E.: "Coplas of Jorge Manrique," X, 164-67

- Dati, Gregorio: *La Sfera* (Mss.), VI, 114-17; VII, 77
- Daumier, Honoré: comedy of manners, X, 158-63, *illus.*, "The First Cigar," 159
- Davidson, Frank: "Voltaire and Hawthorne's 'The Christmas Banquet,'" III, 244-46
- Davidson, James: "Emily Dickinson and Isaac Watts," VI, 141-49
- Day, John: and Elizabethan drama, V, 140-52, *illus.*, "title-page of his *Travailes of the Three English Brothers*, 143
- Dedmond, Francis B.: "Emerson and the Concord Libraries," III, 318-19; "Poe's Libel-Suit Against T. D. English," V, 31-36
- Defoe, Daniel: and the South Sea Company, V, 175-88, *illus.*, title-page of "Essay on the South Sea Trade," 179; as reporter, VI, 195-205; problems of a Defoe cataloger, VII, 192-206, *illus.*, title-page, "A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty," 197; lampoon, "A Speech of a Stone Chimney-Piece," IX, 137-42
- De Fuentes, Pedro: *Carta de Hidalguia* (Mss.), VII, 79-80
- Delacroix, Eugène: *illus.*, "Goethe," I, fac. p. 114
- Delâtre, Eugène: works of, IV, 149-56, *illus.*, "Self-Portrait," 151
- De Quincey, Thomas: letter to John Taylor, VIII, 107
- Der Nersessian, Sirarpie: "An Armenian Gospel of the 15th Century," II, 3-20
- Devil: See Satan
- Dickens, Charles: *Bleak House*, *Dombey and Son*, *Little Dorrit*, *Our Mutual Friend*, IV, 82-85, *illus.*, title-page, *Dombey and Son*, 79; American illustrators of Dickens, V, 189-94, *illus.*, frontispiece
- N. Y. edition *Old Curiosity Shop*, fac. p. 190
- Dickinson, Emily: poems of, VIII, 135-43, *illus.*, letter combining prose and poetry, 137-38; "Success," VIII, 144-47; and T. W. Higginson, V, 3-18, *illus.*, first letter to T. W. H., 9-10; and Isaac Watts, VI, 141-49

- Dodgson, Charles L. [Lewis Carroll]; letter, IV, 60-61
- Doni, Antonio Francesco: *Les Mondes, Terrestres, Celestes, et Infernaux*, I, 174-76
- Doré, Gustave: *illus.*, page from Balzac's *Contes Drolatiques*, II, 321
- Dorgan, Cornelia: "Roman de la Rose," VI, 58-61; "Boccaccio's *Genealogy of the Gods*," VI, 117-19; "The French Version of ALCIATI's Emblems," VI, 188-90; "A Famous Book on Hunting," VI, 242-43; "Journal of a Civil War Soldier," VII, 50-51; "Works by Jacques Callot," VII, 167-69
- Doyle, Arthur Conan: letter to unknown publisher, VIII, 107
- Draper, Margaret: early American woman printer, X, 141-46
- Drusian dal Leone, VIII, 163-65
- Dürer, Albrecht: *Vademecum*, IX, 72, 214-15
- Duston, Helen: "Two Books by Grandville," II, 284-86; "The Golden Fleece," III, 44-50; "Notes by Anatole France," V, 195-205
- Dwight, Timothy: influence of his *Travels in New-England and New-York* on Thoreau, X, 109-15

- E**BBITT, Wilma R.: "Margaret Fuller's Ideas on Criticism," III, 171-87
- Echlin, Lady Elizabeth: letters from Samuel Richardson, IV, 59, 217-21
- Eliot, George: on Hawthorne's *Blithedale Romance*, VII, 207-15
- Eliot, John: as Puritan missionary, II, 100-14, portrait, 103
- Ellet, Elizabeth Lummis: early American woman historian, VIII, 97-99
- Emerson, Ralph Waldo: and the Concord Libraries, III, 318-19; and Hawthorne on England, IX, 73-85; and "Manifest Destiny," VII, 23-33; and Prince Achille Murat, X, 27-37
- Emery, Ruth: "Letters by the Earl of Athlone, 1691-1703," II, 49-62; "Letters by the Duke of Marlborough," V, 63-82
- Engine Melvill [after Maj. Thomas Melvill], V, 206-12
- English, T. D.: libel suit of E. A. Poe against, V, 31-36
- Enriquez de Zúñiga, Juan: *Consejos políticos y morales*, V, 170
- Euphuism: see Guevara, Antonio de
- Evangelary: fifteenth century German, V, 153-58, VII, 79
- Everett, Edward: and George Ticknor on books, IV, 167-84

- F**ANTIN-LATOUR, Henri, lithographs of, I, 75-78, *illus.*, "The Rhine Maidens," fac. p. 78; IX, 48-50, *illus.*, "Scene from Ber-

- lioz's opera *Les Troyens*," fac. p. 48
- Field, Mrs. Annie: letters from Sophia Hawthorne, IX, 143-54
- Fields, James T.: letters to Charles Edmund Pugh, V, 114-15
- Figenbaum, Muriel C.: "Acquisition of Prints by Jacques Villon," III, 305-11 (with Arthur W. Heintzelman); "Wiggin Collection of Fore-Edge Paintings," IV, 50-56
- Fiore, John D.: "Governor Bernard for an American Nobility," IV, 125-38
- Fitzherbert, Alleyne: letter from Lord Nelson, IV, 59-60
- Flaxman, John: *illus.*, "Hesiod and the Muses," (with William Blake), VI, 105
- Fontaine de Toute Science* [attrib. Sydrach]: VII, 86; V, 221-23
- Forain, Jean-Louis: etchings of, II, 369-74, *illus.*, "Le Rencontre sous la Voûte," 371; "Le Retour de l'Enfant Prodigue," VII, 104-06, *illus.*, drawing for, fac. p. 104
- Fore-Edge paintings, the Wiggin collection of, IV, 50-56
- Fouilloux, Jacques du, *La Vénérie*, VI, 242-43; VII, 148
- France, Anatole: notes by, V, 195-205
- France; censorship during the Ancien Régime, VI, 23-42, 84-101
- Francis II of France: Concordat with Pope Leo X, IX, 68; document signed with Mary Stuart of Scotland, VIII, 104-05
- Franklin, Ann: early American woman printer, X, 10-14, *illus.*, sample of her printing, 11
- Franklin, Benjamin: Franklin exhibit in the Treasure Room, VIII, 59-70, *illus.*, drawing for Franklin medal, fac. p. 62
- Friedman, Lee Max: donor of rare books, IV, 67-85; in memoriam, X, 3-5, photograph, fac. p. 3
- Fuller, Horace Binney: and James P. Walker, VI, 123-40
- Fuller, [Sarah] Margaret: centenary, II, 245-68; as fiction writer, VI, 67-73; ideas on criticism, III, 171-87; as historian, VIII, 96-97; satire on Longfellow ["The Whole Duty of a Woman"], IV, 224-27; daguerreotype, II, 251
- Funke, Anneliese M.: "Book of Hours of Rennes," IX, 195-205

- G**ANSEVOORT, Stanwix: and Herman Melville, III, 51-61
- Gaspar de Fidelis; illuminator of Dati's manuscript, *La Sfera*, VI, 114-17
- Gaudin, Auguste-Jean; prints of, V, 107-10, *illus.*, "L'Averse," fac. p. 108
- Gengenbach, Pamphilius: *Von einem Waldbruder* [also *Der Nollhart*], IV, 108-10; VII, 152-53

- Ghetaldi, Marino; mathematics of [*De Resolutione . . . Mathematica*], VII, 170-71
- Gilchrist, Anne: letter from George Henry Lewes, VIII, 107
- Gill, André: *illus.*, caricature of Richard Wagner, VI, 225
- Glick, Wendell: "Yeats' Early Reading of *Walden*," V, 164-66
- Goddard, Mary Katherine: early American woman printer, X, 150-52
- Goddard, Sarah Updike: early American woman printer, X, 78-82
- Goethe: bicentenary, I, 112-18, portrait, fac. p. 114
- Golden Fleece: see *Toison d'Or*
- Golden Legend [Jacopo da Voragine]: *Das Duytsche Passional*, VII, 88-89; *Legenda Aurea*, VII, 87, 87-88; *Passional oder Leben der Heiligen*, VII, 88
- Golden, Samuel: "An Unpublished Emma Lazarus Letter," X, 54-55
- Gordon, William: *History . . . of the Independence of the U. S. A.*, III, 119-22
- Gospel: Armenian 15th century gospel, II, 3-20, *illus.*, miniatures, pp. 12, 13; fac. pp. 6, 7, 10, 11, 14, 15
- Gracian, Baltasar: *Agudeza y Arte de Ingenio*, I, 85-86
- Grandville, J. J.: *Les Métamorphoses du Jour, Fleurs Animées*, II, 284-86
- Gray, Thomas: letter to Mrs. and Miss Jennings, VIII, 107
- Green, Anne; early American woman printer, X, 82-86
- Griggs, F. L.: etchings of, II, 85-88, *illus.*, "The Minister," fac. p. 85
- Grigor of Berkri: illuminator of Armenian Gospel, II, 3-20
- Griswold, Rufus W.: correspondence with H. B. Wallace, VIII, 3-25; bibliography of correspondence in the Boston Public Library, I, 61-74, 156-65; II, 77-84, 172-79, 269-75, 354-68; III, 61-73, 146-54
- Gritti, Andreas [Doge of Venice]: *Commissio ducalis* to Hieronymus Zani (Mss.), IX, 63-64
- Guerin [*Guernino*]: see Barberino, Andrea da
- Guevara, Antonio: *Libro Aureo de Marco Aurelio* [later *Libro Llamado el Relox de Príncipes*], II, 189-91
- Guillén, Jorge: "Poetical Life of Francisco de Herrera," III, 91-108
- Gummere, Richard: "Thomas Hutchinson and Samuel Adams," X, 119-30, 203-12; "The Classical Politics of John Adams," IX, 167-82
- Gushee, Genevieve: "Chronicle of King Alfonso XI," I, 173-74; "Some 17th-Century Spanish Books," V, 169-71



- H**ALIFAX, Earl of: letter from Thomas Pownall, VI, 61-63  
 Hamilton, Fanny K.: letter from Jack London, III, 312-14  
 Happner, Richard B.: letter from George Gordon, Lord Byron, IV, 60  
 Haraszti, Zoltán: "John Adams and Turgot," I, 3-22; "The First Book of Common Prayer," I, 93-111; "Revisions of the Prayer Book," II, 21-48; "Dissenters and Recusants," II, 119-55; "The Occasion for Plymouth Plantation," II, 197-230; "Travels of Sir John Mandeville," II, 306-16; "Hawthorne Forecasts Franklin Pierce's Career," III, 83-86; "More Books from the Adams Library," III, 109-26; "Bimillennium of Paris," III, 188-201; "An Important Gift of Manuscripts," IV, 57-61; "A Gift of Rare Books," IV, 67-87; "A Hundred Years Ago," IV, 115-24; "Impostures of the Devil," IV, 185-99; "Centennial Exhibit in the Treasure Room," VI, 3-22; "Notable Purchases," VII, 72-91, 139-55; "Twenty-Five Years of the Treasure Room," VII, 115-27; "Jefferson's Bill for Religious Freedom," VII, 221-23; "A Splendid Gift," IX, 16-19; "Additions to the Rare Book Department," IX, 59-72  
 Harding, Walter: "Franklin B. Sanborn and Thoreau's Letters," III, 288-93; "The Apple-Tree-Table Tale," VIII, 213-15; Thoreau and Timothy Dwight," X, 109-15  
 Harlow, Virginia: "Thomas Sergeant Perry and Henry James," I, 43-60; "Thomas Sergeant Perry and William Dean Howells," I, 135-50  
 Harvard College: see Shays's Rebellion  
 Hassam, Childe: collection of works of, III, 155-60, *illus.*, "Self-Portrait," 157  
 Hatvary, George Egon: "The Wallace-Griswold Letters," VIII, 3-25  
 Hawthorne, Nathaniel: *Blithedale Romance* criticized by George Eliot, VII, 207-15; sources of his "The Ambitious Guest," IV, 221-24; and Emerson on England, IX, 73-85; predicts career of Franklin Pierce, III, 83-86; sources of "The Christmas Banquet," in Voltaire's *Candide*, III, 244-46; as seen by wife Sophia, IX, 143-54  
 Hawthorne, Sophia: letters to Mrs. Annie Fields, IX, 143-54  
 Hay, Father Thomas: appointment signed by Francis II and Mary Stuart of Scotland (Mss.), VIII, 104-05; appointment confirmed by Cardinal Simonetta, VIII, 105-06

- Haydn, Franz Joseph: letter to Institut National des Science et des Arts, IV, 61
- Hayford, Harrison: "Sailor-Poet of the White-Jacket," III, 221-28
- Heflin, Wilson L.: "A Man-of-War Button Divides Two Cousins," III, 51-60
- Hegarty, Mary L.: "Letters by Longfellow to Elizabeth Stuart Phelps," IV, 157-60
- Heil, Charles E.: etcher, V, 213-17, *illus.*, "On a Pine Branch," 215
- Heintzelman Arthur W.: "Lithographs of Henry Fantin-Latour," I, 75-78; IX, 48-50; "French Prints," I, 166-68; "Etchings of F. L. Griggs," II, 85-88; "Rouault's *Cirque* and *Passion*," II, 180-84; "Early Drawings of Toulouse-Lautrec," II, 276-80; "Etchings of Jean-Louis Forain," II, 369-74; "Work of Gustav Wolf," III, 61-73; "Collection of Childe Hassam's Works," III, 155-60; "Albert H. Wiggin, Collector and Benefactor," III, 229-30; "10th Anniversary of the Wiggin Collection," III, 231-40; "Acquisition of Prints by Jacques Villon" (with Muriel Figenbaum), III, 305-11; "Frank W. Benson, Painter and Etcher," IV, 102-07; "Eugène Delâtre," IV, 149-56; "Contemporary French Prints," IV, 210-16; "Lithographs and Drawings by Wengenroth," V, 48-53; "Prints of Michel Ciry and Auguste-Jean Gaudin," V, 107-10; "Cliché-verre," V, 159-63; "Charles E. Heil, Etcher," V, 213-18; "Masterpieces of Print-Making," VI, 52-57; "Etchings by Robert Fulton Logan," VI, 109-13; "An Exchange Exhibition," VI, 185-87; "John Taylor Arms: In Memoriam," VI, 229-34; "Lithographs by George Biddle," VII, 43-47; "Le Retour de l'Enfant Prodigue," VII, 104-06; "Legros' Illustrations for Poe's *Tales*," VIII, 43-48; "Piranesi's Prints of Paestum," VIII, 100-03; "Cruikshank's Drawings for *The Drunkard's Children*," VIII, 160-62; "Woodcuts by Karl Friedrich Zähringer," VIII, 204-08; "Graphic Work of Joseph Pennell," IX, 102-06; "Contemporary Italian Prints," IX, 155-58; "Etchings and Drawings by James McBey," IX, 206-10; "States of Prints," X, 51-53; "Daumier's Comedy of Manners," X, 158-63; "Prints and Drawings by Jacques Villon," X, 213-17
- Herrera, Francisco de: poetical life of, III, 91-108, *illus.*, title-page of his *Versos*, 97
- Higgins, Eugène: *illus.*, "Laborer Resting," VI, fac. p. 186
- Higginson, T. W.: letters from Emily Dickinson, V, 3-18
- Hine, Ephraim Curtiss: as sailor-poet of *White-Jacket*, III, 221-28
- Historians: early American women historians, VIII, 85-99; see also individual names

Hoax, the Literary, III, 202-09

Holbrook, Josiah: and the American Lyceum, VIII, 26-38, portrait, 29

Holmes, Oliver Wendell: uncollected poem, "The Best Room," VII, 107-10; sources of *Elsie Venner*, V, 113-14

Homer, Winslow: *Campaign Sketches*, IV, 27-33; *illus.*, page, 29

Hooker, Richard: *Laws of Ecclesiastical Politie*, II, 197-202, *illus.*, title-page, 203

Hoveden, John of: *Philomena* (Mss.), X, 188-95

Howe, Mark A. DeWolfe: "Rudolph Ruzicka, Perfectionist," III, 3-5

Howells, William Dean: and Thomas Sergeant Perry, I, 135-50, portrait, fac. p. 140.

Hudson, Jonathan: letter from Robert Morris, VIII, 106

Hunter, Dard: see Paper-making

Huon de Bordeaux: first editions of, I, 83-85

Hutchinson, Thomas: and Samuel Adams, X, 119-30, 203-12

Hymnal: see Antiphonary

**I**LLUSTRATION: botanical, V, 56-59; Bible, II, 376-78; X, 154-57; outline illustration, VI, 102-08; illustration by silhouette, VIII, 39-42; see also individual illustrators; prints

*Il Malatesta*, VII, 139-40; see also St. Catherine of Siena; Representation; Mystery Plays

Ingoldsby, Thomas [Richard Harris Barham]: new letter and poem by, V, 218-21; correction, VI, 63

*Injunctions Given by the Queenes Majestie*, *illus.*, title-page, II, 123

Institut National des Sciences et des Arts: letter from Franz Joseph Haydn, IV, 61

Ivers, Thomas: letter from Samuel Williams, VII, 110-11

**J**AMES, Henry: first novel [*Watch and Ward*], II, 167-71; and Rome, [*Last of the Valerii*], III, 143-45; last novel [*Sense of the Past*], II, 348-53; reception of *Daisy Miller*, X, 55-59; and Thomas as Sergeant Perry, I, 43-60

Jansen, Evert: deed from Peter Stuyvesant (Mss.), VIII, 106

Jarque, Juan Antonio: *Apendiz* to Roxas's *Memorial al Re Nuestro Señor*, V, 70-71

Jefferson, Thomas: bill for religious freedom, VII, 221-23; letter to William Rutledge, IV, 57-58

- Jennings, Mrs. and Miss: letter from Thomas Gray, VIII, 107
- Jesuits: *Cartas edificantes y curiosas*, VIII, 52-55; see also Athanasian creed; Villadiego
- Jewett, Sarah Orne: letters to Mellen Chamberlain, IX, 86-96
- Jewish books printed in America, V, 83-96, *illus.*, title-page of Judah Monis's *Hebrew Grammar*, 87, *illus.*, book-plate of Sir Moses Montefiore, 94, *illus.*, book-plate of Israel Solomons, fac. p. 94
- Jewish centenary, VII, 92-103
- Joachim of Calabria, Abbot: *Prophetiae de Pontificibus* (Mss.), IV, 200-09
- Johnson, Dr. Samuel: as poet, II, 156-66, *illus.*, title-page of *The Vanity of Human Wishes*, 159
- Jones, Alexander: "Margaret Fuller's Attempt to Write Fiction," VI, 67-73; "An Uncollected Poem by Oliver Wendell Holmes," VII, 107-10

- K**APLAN, Sidney: "Pay, Pension and Power," III, 15-34, 127-42; "Harvard College and Shays's Rebellion," VII, 110-11; "Shays's Rebellion and the English Press," VIII, 165-67
- Keepsake in 19th century art, IV, 139-48
- Kimmelman, Elaine: "First editions of Byron," I, 169-72; "*Anatomy of Melancholy*," II, 89-91; "A Forerunner of Euphuism," II, 189-91; "*The Palace of Pleasure*," II, 231-44; "First editions of Landor," II, 381-83
- King, Rufus: letter from John Adams, IV, 58
- Knighton, Sir William: letter from Sir Walter Scott, IV, 60
- Knox, Gen. Henry: and American Revolution, III, 15-35, 127-42, *illus.*, letter, 25
- Kollwitz, Kaethe: *illus.*, "Mother with Child in Arms," VII, 163

- L**ACY, Jane: "Doni's *Mondi and Inferni*," I, 174-76; "Letters by Commodore Perry," II, 185-87; "*La Sagesse* of Pierre Charron," II, 379-81
- Lamb, Jean D.: "First Editions of Huon de Bordeaux," I, 83-85; "The Education of a Prince," III, 316-18
- Landscape in comic art, VIII, 201-03
- Lane, William G.: "A New Letter and Poem by 'Thomas Ingoldsby,'" V, 218-21
- Las Casas, Bartolomé de: and the Black Legend, V, 97-106, *illus.*, title-page of *Brevísima Relacion*, 99



- La Tour-Landry, Geoffrey: *Der Ritter vom Turn*, IX, 109-11
- Lawrence, William Pitt: letter to his parents, IX, 159-61
- Lazarus, Emma: letter to Edmund Clarence Stedman, X, 54-55
- Lecture bureaus of the late 19th century, IX, 97-101
- Legros, Alphonse: illustrations of Poe's *Tales*, VIII, 43-48, *illus.*, "The Facts in the Case of M. Valdemar," 45
- Leo X, Pope: Concordat with Francis II of France, IX, 68
- Lewes, George Henry: letter to Anne Gilchrist, VIII, 107
- Leyda, Jay: "Ishmael Melvill," I, 119-34; "The Albany Journal of Gansevoort Melville," II, 327-47; "The Engine Melvill," V, 206-12
- Library: see Boston Public Library; Concord Library; Petrarch
- Lightfoote, William: *The Complaint of England*, X, 170-71
- Logan, Robert Fulton: etchings, VI, 109-13, *illus.*, "St. Nicolas du Chardonnet, Paris," fac. p. 110
- London, Jack: letter to Fanny K. Hamilton, III, 312-14
- Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth: letters to Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, IV, 157-59; reading material of, VII, 55-71, 128-38; Margaret Fuller's satire on his "The Spanish Student" ["The Whole Duty of a Woman], IV, 224-27
- Lorris, Guillaume de: *Roman de la Rose*, VI, 58-61
- Louisburg: the second siege of [*An Authentic Account of the Reduction of Louisburg in June and July 1785*], II, 92-93
- Lowell, James Russell: on Calderón de la Barca, VI, 190-91; and Christopher Pearce Cranch on Samuel Worcester Rowse, II, 378-79
- Luther, Martin: letter to the Council of Torgau in Silesia, IV, 61
- Lutz, Alma: "Early American Women Historians," VIII, 85-99
- Lyrical Ballads*: [Published anonymously by Samuel T. Coleridge and William Wordsworth] IV, 70-74, *illus.*, title-page, 71
- M**CALEER, Edward C.: "Isa Blagden to Kate Field," III, 210-20; "Pasquale Villari and the Brownings," IX, 40-47
- McBey, James: etchings and drawings, IX, 206-10, *illus.*, "The Doorway," 207
- Malany, Mary H.: "Letters by Barrie to the Duchess of Sutherland," V, 37-47
- Malesherbes, Lamoignon de: portrait, VI, 29; see France
- Mandeville, Sir John: travels of [*Reysen und Wanderschafften durch das Gelobte Land*], II, 306-16, *illus.*, page, 309
- Manet, Edouard: *illus.*, "Los Gitanos," I, fac. p. 166

- "Manifest destiny": see Emerson, Ralph Waldo
- Manrique, Jorge: *Coplas por la muerte de su padre*, X, 164-67
- Manuscripts: gifts of, IV, 57-61; VIII, 104-08; illumination and poetry, V, 19-30; Persian, VI, 80; purchases of, VII, 72-81; IX, 60-64
- Marlborough, John, Duke of: letters to Charles Seymour, 6th Duke of Somerset, V, 63-82, portrait, fac. p. 68
- Marot, Clément: revision of *Roman de la Rose*, VI, 58-61
- Massachusetts Centinel and "The Anarchiad," IV, 97-101; see also Shays's Rebellion
- Matchett, William H.: "The 'Success' of Emily Dickinson," VIII, 144-47
- Mather, Increase: portrait at age 49, IX, 123; see also Puritans
- Maximilian, Emperor of Germany: *Teuerdank*, X, 131-40, *illus.*, "Teuerdank Arriving at a Mountain-Pass," 133
- Meditationes Vitae Christi*: see St. Bonaventura
- Melville, Ishmael [Thomas]: on board the *Amazon*, I, 119-34, *illus.*, entry in the log-book, 125
- Melville, the Engine, V, 206-12
- Melville, Gansevoort: Albany Journal of, II, 327-47
- Melville, Herman: and Stanwix Gansevoort, III, 51-60; comparison of his *Pierre* with *Romeo and Juliet*, VI, 43-51; his cousin Thomas as a model for "Ishmael," I, 119-34
- Meun, Jean de: *Roman de la Rose*, VI, 58-61
- Miller, F. DeWolfe: "An Artist Sits for Lowell," II, 378-79
- Mills, Gordon: "The Landslide in the White Mountains," V, 113-14
- Milne, W. Gordon: "George W. Curtis and the Anti-Slavery Cause," VIII, 115-34
- Miranda, Francesco de: and the liberation of South America, III, 122-25
- Mirandola, Gianfrancesco Pico de: *De Rerum Praenotione, Theoremata de Fide*, "Staurostichos," III, 165-67; see also Ghetaldi; Dati
- Missal: fourteenth century French, III, 246-47; of York, IX, 60-61
- Mitchelson, Samuel: letter from Tobias Smollett, VIII, 107
- Moniglia, Giovanni Andrea: *L'Hipermestra*, IX, 51-53
- Monis, Judah: *illus.*, title-page of his *Hebrew Grammar*, V, 87; VII, 95
- Montefiore, Sir Moses: *illus.*, book-plate, V, 94
- Moore, John Robert: "Pantaloone as Shylock," I, 33-42; "Johnson as Poet," II, 156-66; "Defoe and the South Sea Company," V,

175-88; "Defoe's Lampoon 'A Speech of a Stone Chimney-Piece,'" IX, 137-42

Morality plays: see Rappresentazioni: Mystery plays

Morris, Robert: letter to Jonathan Hudson, VIII, 106

Munsterberg, Margaret: "Pharmaceutical Botany a Century Ago," I, 81-83; "Goethe Bicentenary," I, 112-18; "French Biographer of the Renaissance," II, 93-95; "The Christian Harp of Ten Strings," II, 187-89; "Margaret Fuller Centenary," II, 245-68; "Illustrated Bibles," II, 376-78; "Bacon's *Sylva Sylvarum*," III, 86-87; "Early Allusions to America," III, 165-67; "The German *Petrarch* of 1532," III, 280-87; "Wynkyn de Worde's *Passyon* of 1521," IV, 61-63; "Early German Carnival Play," IV, 108-10; "Prophecies of the Popes," IV, 200-09; "Vignola's Rule of the Five Orders," V, 111-13; "A Fifteenth-Century German Evangelary," V, 153-58; "The Fountain of All Science," V, 221-23; "A Medieval Pilot-Book," VI, 114-17; "Satan's Law-Suit Against Christ," VI, 150-59; *Apologia por la noble nacion de los Iudios*, London, 1649," VI, 235-41; "The Parables of Alain de Lille," VII, 34-42; "Journal of a Whaling Voyage," VII, 156-60; "Mathematics of Ghetaldi," VII, 170-71; "Letters from Lady Tennyson," VII, 175-91; "Jean Bouchet's Allegory of Foxes," VIII, 49-51; "An Early French Edition of *Guernino*," VIII, 108-11; "Italian Romance of Chivalry," VIII, 163-65; "Early Views of Beacon Hill," VIII, 171-80; "A Florentine Pageant of 1658," IX, 51-53; "*Der Ritter vom Turn*, 1519," IX, 109-11; "Life of Aesop," IX, 161-63; "The Weston Sisters and the 'Boston Mob,'" IX, 183-94; "A Spanish Friar on the Athanasian Creed," IX, 211-13; "The Weston Sisters and 'The Boston Controversy,'" X, 38-50; "Italian Morality Plays," X, 93-100: "*The Complaint of England*," X, 170-71; "Meditations on the Life of Christ," X, 222-23

Murat, Prince Achille: and Ralph Waldo Emerson, X, 27-37

Mystery Play: *Les Actes des Apostres*, VIII, 209-13; see also Rappresentazioni

**N**ATIVITA DI CRISTO, VII, 144; see also Rappresentazioni  
Nelson, Lord: letter to Alleyne Fitzherbert, IV, 59-60

New England: early court records of, VI, 160-84; see also Boston; Beacon Hill; American Revolution; Puritans

Newfoundland: fisheries of, III, 117-19

New Orleans, eye-witnesses's account of battle of (Mss.), IX, 159-61

Nineteenth century; keepsake in art of, IV, 139-48; lecture bureaus of the, IX, 97-101

Nuthead, Dinah: early American woman printer, X, 9-10

**O**FFICE of the Passion: from *Le Marche* (Mss.), VII, 75, 77; see also *Worde*, *Wynkyn de*; *Golden Legend*

Oldham, Ellen M.: "Register of the Company of St. Bernadine," II, 281-84; "Rembrandt's Illustrations for the *History of Joseph*," II, 375-76; "An Early Manuscript of St. Francis's Life," III, 79-83; "A Facsimile of the Book of Kells," III, 161-63; "A 14th-Century French Missal," III, 246-47; "Early Franciscan Breviary," III, 276-79; "Life of St. Augustine in Pictures," IV, 20-26; "Early Jewish Books Printed in America," V, 83-96; "Jewish Tercentenary," VII, 92-103; "Problems of a Defoe Cataloger," VII, 192-206; "Spanish Collection of Jesuit Relations," VIII, 52-55; "Franklin Exhibit in the Treasure Room," VIII, 59-70; "A Great French Mystery Play," VIII, 209-13; "Psalms Through Seven Centuries," IX, 11-15; "Mrs. Hawthorne to Mrs. Fields," IX, 143-54; "Early American Women Printers," X, 6-26, 78-92, 141-53; "A Grenadier on the Last Battles of the Revolution," X, 106-09; "Irish Support of the Abolitionist Movement," X, 175-87; "An Exhibition of the Library's Treasures," X, 218-20

O'Meara, Stephen: works by, IV, 160-61

**P**AINTER, William: *The Palace of Pleasure*, II, 231-44, *illus.*, title-page, Vol. I, 235

Pantaloon as Shylock, I, 33-42, *illus.*, "Pantaloon," 35; see also *Shakespeare*

Paper-making: by hand in America, V, 166-69

Paris: bimillennium of, III, 188-201

Passion of Christ: see *Office of the Passion*

Paul, Sherman: "Bronson Alcott's Search for the Child," IV, 89-96

Peckham, John: *De Oculo Morali*, IX, 66-67; *Philomena* (Mss.), X, 188-95

Pellico, Silvio: *Le Mie Prigioni*'s influence on Thoreau, VII, 48-50

Penn, William: deed to Francis Burroughs (Mss.), VIII, 106

Pennell, Joseph: graphic work of, IX, 102-06, portrait, 103

Perry, Oliver Hazard: draft to the U. S. Navy for \$2,000 (Mss.), VIII, 106-07

Perry, Thomas Sergeant: and Henry James, I, 43-60; and William



- Dean Howells, I, 135-50; portrait, I, fac. p. 48
- Petrarch, German *Petrarch* of 1532, III, 280-87, *illus.*, woodcut, 283; fifteenth century manuscript of, VII, 76; his proposal for a public library, X, 196-202, *illus.*, letter of acceptance from the Venetian Senate, 199; *Trionfi, Sonnetti, e Canzoni*, VII, 82
- Phelps, Elizabeth Stuart: letters from Longfellow, IV, 157-59
- Philomena*: see Peckham, John; Hoveden, John
- Pierce, Franklin: Nathaniel Hawthorne predicts career of, III, 83-86
- Pierpont, John: abolitionist, VIII, 195-200
- Piranesi, Giovanni Battista: prints of Paestum, VII, 100-03, *illus.*, "A View of Paestum," fac. p. 100
- Plymouth plantation, the occasion for, II, 197-230; see also Puritans; Book of Common Prayer
- Poe, Edgar Allan: centenary, I, 151-55; libel suit against T. D. English, V, 31-38; daguerreotype, I, fac. p. 152; *illus.*, letter from publisher offering to print *Tales*, I, 67; see also Legros, Alfonse
- Porter, Commodore David: letters by, II, 185-87
- Posters, French war, III, 314-16
- Pottinger, David: "Censorship in France During the Ancien Régime," VI, 23-42, 84-101
- Pownall, Thomas: letter to the Earl of Halifax, VI, 61-63
- Prayer book: see Book of Common Prayer
- Price, Richard: on the national debt [*The Importance of the American Revolution*], III, 109-12
- Prints: contemporary French, IV, 210-16; French, I, 166-68; contemporary Italian, IX, 155-58; exchange exhibition of, VI, 185-87; states of, X, 51-53; see also Illustration; under artist's name
- Print Department: additions to the, VII, 161-66; lithographs in the, VII, 216-20; see also Wiggin Collection
- Print-making, masterpieces of, VI, 52-57
- Printers, early American women, X, 6-26, 78-92, 141-53; see also under individual's name
- Prophetiae de Pontificibus*: see Joachim, of Calabria; Anselm of Mar-sico
- Psalter: the Psalms through seven centuries, IX, 11-15; early Flemish, VII, 120, *illus.*; miniature, fac. p. 120; *Psalterium Germanicum*, IX, 67; see also Bible; Book of Common Prayer
- Pugh, Charles Edward: two letters to James T. Fields, V, 114-15
- Puritans; as historians, IX, 115-36; as missionaries, II, 99-118; Satan in the teaching of the, VII, 3-22; VIII, 71-84, 148-59; and Plymouth plantation; II, 197-230

- R****AFFAELLO**, VII, 144; see also Mystery plays; Rappresentazioni
- Rappresentazioni: VII, 139-44; X, 93-100; see also under names of plays; Mystery plays
- Rare books: gift of, IV, 67-85; purchases of, VII, 72-91, 139-55; IX, 64-72
- Ravitz, Abe C.: "The Anarchiad' and the *Massachusetts Centinel*," IV, 97-101; "John Pierpont, Abolitionist," VIII, 195-200
- Read, William: "Manuscript Illumination and Poetry," V, 19-30
- Reece, James B.: "Margaret Fuller's Satire on Longfellow," IV, 224-27
- Reina Ester, La*, VII, 144; see also Mystery plays, Rappresentazioni
- Rembrandt van Rijn: illustration for the *History of Joseph*, II, 375-76
- Revolution: see American revolution
- Richardson, Francis: on the last battles of the American revolution, X, 106-09
- Richardson, Samuel: letters to Lady Elizabeth Echlin, IV, 59; 217-21
- Rind, Clementina: early American woman printer, X, 86-91
- Ritter vom Turn, Der*: see *La Tour-Landry*, Geoffrey
- Robertson, Mary: "The Last Novels of Jane Austen," I, 86-88; "The Second Siege of Louisburg," II, 92-93
- Rojas, Fernando de: see *Celestina*
- Roman de la Rose*: VI, 58-61; VII, 147
- Rouault, George: *Cirque and Passion*, II, 180-84, *illus.*, from *Cirque*, 181
- Rowse, Samuel Worcester: James Russell Lowell and Christopher Pearce Cranch on, II, 378-79
- Roxas, Alonso de: *Memorial al Re Nuestro Señor*, V, 70-71
- Roxo, don Francisco Pérez de: *Carta de Hidalguia* (Mss.), VII, 80
- Rule: of an Italian monastic order (Mss.), IX, 63; of orders of Sts. Benedict, Basil, Augustine and Francis, VII, 82; of Santa Clara (Mss.), VII, 76; (Mss.), IX, 64
- Rust, James D.: "George Eliot on the *Blithedale Romance*," VII, 207-15
- Rutledge, William: letter from Thomas Jefferson, IV, 57-58
- Ruzicka, Rudolph: exhibition of works of, III, 6-14; perfectionist, III, 3-5; *illus.*, wood-engraving, p. 11; fac. p. 8

- S**ALCEDO, don Sebastian Ventura de Vergara: *Ydeas de Apolo*, V, 169-70
- Salt Lake City, charter of, II, 286-87
- Sanborn, Franklin B.: *Familiar Letters of Henry David Thoreau*, III, 288-93
- Saints [includes San, Sanct, Santo, Santa, Saint]: see under name
- Santa Agata*, VII, 143; see also Rappresentazioni
- Santa Agnese*, VII, 140-43; see also Rappresentazioni
- St. Antonius: *Dialogus super Evangelio*, IX, 66
- St. Augustine: life of in pictures [*Vita S. Augustini* (Mss.)], IV, 20-26; *De Civitate Dei*, IX, 67; *De Contemplatione Christi* (Mss.), VII, 78; rule of, VII, 82
- St. Bernadine, Register of the Company of (Mss.), II, 281-84
- St. Bonaventure [Bonaventura]: *Legenda Maior* (Mss.), III, 79-83; *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, X, 222-23
- Santa Caterina* of Alexandria; VII, 140; see also Rappresentazioni
- St. Catherine of Siena: *illus.*, martyrdom of, from *Il Malatesta*, VII, 141; see also Rappresentazione
- Santa Clara*: rules of, (Mss.), VII, 76; (Mss.), IX, 64
- Santa Dorothea Vergine*, X, 93-94, *illus.*, title-page, 95; see also Rappresentazioni
- St. Francis: life of (Mss.), III, 79-83; *Fioretti* (Mss.), VII, 76; *San Francisco e Ladroni*; VII, 144; see also Rappresentazioni
- Santo Giovanni Dicollato*, X, 94-98; see also Rappresentazioni
- St. Jerome: *Leben der Heiligen Altväter*, VII, 95
- St. Meinrad: legend of [*Sanct Meynharts Leben*], IX, 213-14
- St. Raymond of Peñafort: *Summa Casuum* (Mss.), VII, 78
- St. Thomas Aquinas: compendium of works of (Mss.), IX, 62, *illus.*, page (with miniature) from, fac. p. 62
- St. Thomas à Becket: *illus.*, martyrdom, IX, fac. p. 64
- Santa Uliva*, VII, 143; see also Rappresentazioni
- Sarum, Book of Hours of the use of: see Book of Hours
- Satan: in teaching of Puritans, VII, 3-22; VIII, 71-84, 148-59; law suit against Christ [*Belial, Theramo*], VI, 150-59, *illus.*, "Satan and Moses Pleading Before Solomon," 153; *De Praestigiis Daemonum*, Weyer, IV, 185-99
- Scamman, Col. James: letter from Capt. Joshua Bragdon, VIII, 106
- Schloeck, R. J.: "Influence of *La Celestina* in England," VII, 224-25
- Schoenbaum, Samuel: "John Day and Elizabethan Drama," V, 140-52
- Scott, Sir Walter: letter to Sir William Knighton, IV, 60

- Seymour, Charles, 6th Duke of Somerset: letters from John, Duke of Marlborough, V, 63-82
- Sfera La*: see Dati, Gregorio
- Shackford, James Atkins: "The Author of David Crockett's Autobiography," III, 294-304
- Shakespeare, William: Library's first folio, X, 63-77; Pantaloon as Shylock [*Merchant of Venice*], I, 33-42; comparison of Melville's *Pierre* with *Romeo and Juliet*, VI, 43-51; *illus.*, title-page of first folio, X, fac. p. 66
- Shays's Rebellion; and the English press, VIII, 165-67; and Harvard College, VII, 110-11; see also American revolution; "Anarchiad"
- Silhouette, illustration by, VIII, 39-42
- Simonetta, Cardinal: confirmation of Father Thomas Hay's appointment, VIII, 105-06
- Simpson, Lewis P.: "Not Men But Books," IV, 167-84
- Smith, John: *illus.*, leaf from his *Description of New England*, II, 219
- Smollett, Tobias: letter to Samuel Mitchelson, VIII, 107
- Solomons, Israel: *illus.*, book-plate, V, 95
- Somerset, Duke of: see Seymour, Charles
- Sonnets et Eaux-Fortes* (anthology of poems), III, 163-65
- South Sea Company; Daniel Defoe and the, V, 175-88
- Spicer, John L.: "The Poems of Emily Dickinson," VIII, 135-43; correction, IX, 53-54; "Wimpfeling's *Adolescentia*," IX, 54-55; "Legend of St. Meinrad," IX, 213-14
- Stackpole, Edouard: "The First Recognition of Antarctica," IV, 3-19
- Stedman, Edmund Clarence: letter from Emma Lazarus, X, 54-55
- Stern, Madeline B.: "James P. Walker and Horace B. Fuller: Transcendental Publishers," VI, 123-40
- Stone, Edward: "Henry James's First Novel," II, 167-71; "The Last Novel of Henry James," II, 348-53; "Henry James and Rome," III, 143-45
- Stuyvesant, Peter: deed to Evert Jansen (Mss.), VIII, 106
- Super Quicunque Vult*; see Castroval
- Sutherland, Duchess of: letters from James M. Barrie, V, 38-47
- Swenson, Paul B.: "Additions to the Print Department," VII, 161-66; "Thackeray Drawings in the Print Department," X, 101-05
- Swift, Harriet: "New Light on the Bay Psalm Book," IX, 3-10
- Sydrach: see *Fontaine de Toute Science, La*



- T**APLIN, Gardner B.: "Mrs. Browning's Poems of 1850," VIII, 181-94
- Taylor, John: letter from Thomas De Quincey, VIII, 107
- Temporale: Flemish, IX, 61
- Tennyson, Alfred Lord: *Poems* [1833], *Poems*, 1843, *Poems, By Two Brothers*, *Poems, Chiefly Lyrical*, IV, 78-81
- Tennyson, Emily Lady: letters from, VII, 175-91, *illus.*, first page of a letter from, 185, portrait, fac. p. 178
- Teuerdank*: see Maximilian, Emperor of Germany
- Thackeray, William Makepeace: *The Kinckleburys on the Rhine*, *The Newcomes*, *The Virginians*, IV, 85-88; drawings in the Print Department by, X, 101-05, *illus.*, "A Footman," 103
- Theramo, Jacobus de: *Belial* (Mss.), VI, 150-09, *illus.*, "Satan and Moses Pleading Before Solomon," 153; VII, 79
- Thevet, André: *Des Vrais Pourtraits et Vies des Hommes Illustres*, II, 93-95
- Thoreau, Henry David: letters of [*Familiar Letters*, by Franklin B. Sanborn], III, 288-93; Timothy Dwight's *Travels in New-England and New-York* influence on, X, 109-15; Silvio Pellico's *Le Mie Prigioni*'s influence on, VII, 48-50; influence of *Walden* on Yeats, V, 164-66
- Ticknor, George: and Edward Everett on books, IV, 167-84; anniversary of the Ticknor Collection, I, 79-81
- Timothy, Elizabeth: early American woman printer, X, 16-21
- Toison d'or*, *La*, II, 44-50
- Toulouse-Lautrec, Henri: early drawings of, II, 276-80, *illus.*, "Horse," 277; *illus.*, "The Jockey," VI, 53
- Treasure Room: see Boston Public Library
- Trefz, Edward K.: "Satan as the Prince of Evil," VII, 3-22; "Satan in Puritan Teaching," VIII, 71-84, 148-59; "The Puritans' View of History," IX, 115-36
- Tubbs, William: deed to William Tubbs, Jr. (Mss.), VIII, 106
- Tunis, Agreement of (Mss.) [Signed by Muley Hamet and Don Alonso de la Cueva], VII, 104
- Turgot: and John Adams, I, 3-22, portrait, fac. p. 3
- Twain, Mark [Samuel L. Clemens]: letter to Chatto & Windus, VIII, 107

- U**GALDE, Louis: "A Great Spanish Cosmographer," V, 54-56; "Las Casas and the Black Legend," V, 97-106; "*La Celestina* of 1502," VI, 206-32; "A Reply," 226-27

- V** ADEMECUM: see Dürer, Albrecht; Bonstellen, Albrecht  
 Valentine writers' manual, IV, 161-63  
 Vattermare, Alexandre: and the founding of the Boston Public Library, IV, 115-24; see also Boston Public Library  
 Very, Jones: New England mystic, II, 63-76, portrait, fac. p. 66  
 Vigerio, Marco: *Decachordum Christianum*, II, 187-89  
 Vignola, Barozzio de: *Regola delli Cinque Ordini d'Architettura*, V, 111-13  
 Villadiego, Gundissalvus de: *Tractus contra Hereticam Pravitatem* . . . X, 221-22; see also Jesuits  
 Villari, Pasquale: and the Brownings, IX, 40-47  
 Villon, Jacques: prints by, III, 305-11, *illus.*, "Jeune Fille," 307; prints and drawings by, X, 213-17, *illus.*, "Madame Steegmuller," fac. p. 214  
 Vlaminc: *illus.*, "Village Street," VII, 217  
 Volck, A. J.: *Sketches from the Civil War in North America*, IV, 27-33  
 Volpe, Edmond L.: "The Reception of *Daisy Miller*," X, 55-59  
 Voltaire: influence of banquet scene from *Candide*, Chapt. XIX, and Hawthorne's "The Christmas Banquet," III, 244-46  
 Von einem Waldbruder: see Gegenbach, Pamphilus  
 Voragine, Jacopo: Golden Legend [*Legenda Aurea*, etc.], VII, 87-89
- W** AGENKNECHT, Edward: "Longfellow's Reading," VII, 55-71, 128-38  
 Wagner, Vern: "Josiah Holbrook of the American Lyceum," VIII, 26-38; "Lecture Bureaus of the 19th Century," IX, 97-101  
 Walker, James P.: and Horace B. Fuller, VI, 123-40  
 Wallace, Horace Binney: correspondence with Rufus W. Griswold, VIII, 3-25, *illus.*, letter to Griswold, p. 11  
 Walton, Isaac: manuscript concerning his house at Halstead, IV, 59  
 Ward, Maj.-Gen Artemus: letter from George Washington, IV, 57  
 Ward, Theodore V. W.: "Emily Dickinson and T. W. Higginson," V, 3-18  
 Ware, Ethel K.: "Lydia Maria Child and Anti-Slavery," III, 251-75, IV, 34-49  
 Warren, Mercy: early American woman historian, VIII, 88-93, *illus.*, title-page of her *History*, 89  
 Washington, George: letter to Maj.-Gen. Artemus Ward, IV, 57  
 Watts, Isaac: and Emily Dickinson, VI, 141-49

- Weitenkampf, Frank: "The Literary Hoax," III, 202-09; "The Keepsake in 19th Century Art," IV, 139-48; "American Illustrators of Dickens," V, 189-94; "Outline Illustration," VI, 102-08; "Portraits in Caricature," VI, 223-28; "Illustration by Silhouette," VIII, 39-42; "Landscape in Comic Art," VIII, 201-03; "American Bible Illustration," X, 154-57
- Wengenroth, Stow: lithographs and drawings by, V, 48-53; *illus.*, "Birds and Flowers," 49
- Weston, Hervey: letter from Joshua Bates, IX, 107-09
- Weston sisters [Anne Warren, Caroline, Deborah, and Maria Weston Chapman]: and the Boston "Controversy" X, 38-50; and the "Boston Mob," IX, 183-94; see also Anti-Slavery
- Weyer, Johnathan: *De Praestigiis Daemonum*, IV, 185-99
- Whistler, James M.: *illus.*, "Joseph Pennell," IX, 103
- Whitehill, Walter Muir: "Ruzicka Exhibition in the Library, III, 6-14
- White-Jacket*: see Hine, Ephraim Curtiss; Melville, Herman
- White Mountains: landslide in as inspiration for Nathaniel Hawthorne, IV, 221-24; for Oliver Wendell Holmes, V, 113-14
- Whitman, Ruth: "Balzac Centenary," II, 317-26
- Wiggin, Albert H.: collector and benefactor, III, 229-30
- Wiggin Collection: 10th anniversary of, III, 231-40; see also under names of artists
- Willard, Charity: "The *Three Virtues* of Christine de Pisan," II, 291-305
- Willard, Emma: early American woman historian, VIII, 93-95
- Willard, Samuel: *illus.*, title-page of his *Christian Exercise*, VII, 9; see also Puritan
- Williams, Rev. Samuel: letter to Thomas Ivers, Esq., VII, 110-11
- Wilkins, Ernest H.: "Petrarch's Proposal for a Public Library," X, 196-202
- Wimpfeling: *Adolescentia*, IX, 54-55
- Winsor, Justin: *History of America*, V, 119-39; letters from Europe, VI, 74-83; photograph, c. 1890, V, fac. p. 124
- Wolf, Gustav: works by, III, 74-78; *illus.*, woodcut from his *Book of Job*, 75
- Wonders of Creation* (Mss.), after the encyclopaedia of Zakariya ben Mohammed Qazwini, VII, 80
- Woodwell, Charles Henry: journal of a civil war soldier, VII, 50-51
- Worde, Wynkyn de: *Passyon of Our Lorde*, IV, 61-63
- Wordsworth, William: *Lyrical Ballads* (Pub. anonymously with

Samuel Taylor Coleridge), IV, 70-74

Wright, Edith A.: "The *Teuerdank* of Emperor Maximilian," X, 131-40; "Twelve Apostles of Cranach," X, 167-70; "A Medieval Manuscript of *Philomena*," X, 188-95; "A Spanish Canonist on Heresy," X, 221-22

**Y**AGGI, Elinor: "Shakespeare and Melville's *Pierre*," VI, 43-51

Yeats, William Butler: early reading of Thoreau's *Walden*, V, 164-66

Young, Brigham: gift of *Charter of Great Salt Lake City*, II, 286-87

**Z**ÄHRINGER, Karl Friedrich: woodcuts by, VIII, 204-08, *illus.*, "Woman with Baby," 205

Zakariya ben Mohammed Qazwini: see *Wonders of Creation*

Zani, Hieronymus: *Commissio ducalis* from Andrea Gritti, Doge of Venice (Mss.), IX, 63-64

Zenger, Catherine: early American woman printer, X, 21-25



# Trustees of the Library

ERWIN D. CANHAM, *President*

SIDNEY R. RABE, *Vice-President*

FRANK W. BUXTON

PATRICK F. McDONALD

RIGHT REVEREND EDWARD G. MURRAY

## Director, and Librarian

MILTON E. LORD

## Contributors to this Issue

ELLEN M. OLDHAM, Reference Librarian, EDITH A. WRIGHT, Editorial Library Assistant, and MARGY P. SHARPE, Assistant, are members of the Rare Book Department of the Boston Public Library.

The late MISS MARGARET MUNSTERBERG was on the staff of the Rare Book Department from 1926 to 1957.

THE  
Boston Public Library  
QUARTERLY

Volume 11, Number 4

# Contents

	<i>Page</i>
MEAT OUT OF THE EATER <i>By Richard Crowder</i>	179
BURNS, THE GLORIOUS SINNER <i>By John Burroughs</i>	193
"LA MYTHOLOGIE" OF GUSTAVE DORÉ <i>By Edith A. Wright</i>	200
THE HUNT COLLECTION ON THE WEST INDIES <i>By Ellen M. Oldham</i>	210
HIRAM C. MERRILL, 1866-1958 <i>By Arthur W. Heintzelman</i>	217
NOTES ON RARE BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS	
"THE PORT OF BOSTON" <i>By Ellen M. Oldham</i>	221
THE AUTHOR AND THE ILLUSTRATOR <i>By Frank Weitenkampf</i>	222
ILLUSTRATIONS AND FACSIMILES	

\*\*  
\*

EDITOR: ZOLTÁN HARASZTI

*The Boston Public Library Quarterly* is published for January, April, July, and October by the Trustees of the Public Library of the City of Boston in Copley Square, Boston 17. Second-Class mail privileges authorized at Boston, Massachusetts. Printed for the Boston Public Library, September 1959.

*Single Copies, 50 cents*  
*Annual Subscription, \$2.00*

# THE Boston Public Library QUARTERLY

OCTOBER 1959

## Meat out of the Eater

By RICHARD CROWDER

Michael Wigglesworth, minister and physician of Malden in Massachusetts Bay, is chiefly remembered of course as the author of *The Day of Doom*, that gloomy embodiment of New England theology. An equally characteristic but lesser known product of his was *Meat out of the Eater*, first published in 1670 and reprinted three times in the seventeenth and twice in the eighteenth century. The article which follows, taken from Professor Crowder's recently completed biography of Wigglesworth, is a discussion of the book.

Only a single copy of the first edition of *Meat out of the Eater*, printed at Cambridge by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson, and a single copy of another issue printed by the same printers in the same year but with the words "for John Usher at Boston" in the imprint, are known to exist — both in the Library of Yale University. No copies of the second and third editions are known; and only three of the fourth are listed — one at the Boston Public Library and the other two at Harvard College Library and the American Antiquarian Society. Its imprint reads "Boston. Printed by R.P. for John Usher. 1689." It was upon the Boston Public Library's copy of this edition that Professor Crowder based his analysis of the work.

The Boston Public Library's copy, bound in the original calf but rebacked, belongs to the Prince Collection. It is a small octavo of 208 pages, the first fifty of which contain the title poem, "Meat out of the Eater," divided into ten "Meditations" with



"A Conclusion Hortatory"; the rest, with a separate title-page, is occupied by "Riddles Unriddled," which consists of nine poems, each made up of a number of "Meditations" and "Songs."

The fifth edition of the work, "corrected and amended by the author in 1703," was printed in 1717 in Boston by J. Allen for no less than six booksellers, the names of each appearing in the different imprints. A sixth edition was published in 1770 in New London by T. Green for Seth White. The Boston Public Library has copies of both. (Z. H.)

"I HAVE been long employed in a great work composing poems about the cross," Wigglesworth wrote on September 17, 1669. For the three weeks preceding he had been laboring hard enough to have written over a hundred stanzas. When he was feeling comparatively well, he could, in a single day, put together as many as twenty stanzas.

The book was to be called by the title of the first part — "Meat out of the Eater," a phrase in common use from the story of Samson: from tribulation could come blessing; from trial, strength. (Judges, XIV, 14.) Jonathan Mitchell, in his introductory poem to *The Day of Doom*, writing of his former pupil's ailments, had commented: "But from this eater comes some meat." Wigglesworth himself had used the phrase in his diary. The subtitle of the book would show more plainly the nature of the contents: *Meditations Concerning the Necessity, End, and Usefulness of Affliction unto Gods Children, All Tending to Prepare them For and Comfort them Under the Cross.*

For the next four and a half weeks he applied himself with great diligence to the task before him. It was not easy. On September 29 the air was chilly and the words came hard, but he was able to copy out "five sides fair" and to compose about a dozen more stanzas. Daily he prayed for the re-charging of his energies. The language of his petitions grew from his earnest compulsion. On October 4 he wrote: "And now I do seriously and honestly beg Thy help and Assistance, for I am deeply sensible that without Thee I can do nothing, and for Thee I desire to do all. Oh guide my head, heart, hand, and all my might this day, and for the sake and for the honor of Thy name. Amen." There is a nervous drive in this prayer

that, if it could have been translated into physical activity, would have made the thirty-eight-year-old minister an irresistible leader in Malden and all of Massachusetts Bay.

The second — and longer — part of his book he entitled *Riddles Unriddled, or Christian Paradoxes Broke open, smelling like sweet Spices New taken out of Boxes*. Once he had got into the swing of rhyming, he could not forego making even this title a rough couplet. Of this section he could write on October 15: "I am now upon the last head ('Heavenly Crowns' etc.)." Three days later he was rejoicing: "And now through Thy rich grace and daily assistance I have done composing. *Laus Deo*." This was his birthday and "the birthday of this book, it being finished this morning." In another three days he had completed the fair copy.

The manuscript was much bulkier than that of *The Day of Doom*. It ran to four thousand lines, for the most part in eight-line stanzas or "staves," the third and seventh lines being eight syllables long, the others six, and so he escaped the "fourteeners" of balladry in which he had cast his earlier best seller. Though the rhyming words came less often, the accents were as monotonously regular as ever, the inverted sentence order as frequent.

The poems in this work do not have the advantage of the physical movement and dramatic situation of *The Day of Doom*. Occasionally, however, they can rise to an intensity growing out of the author's convictions. Occasionally, too, they are lifted from mere sermonizing by an unexpected image. But generally they are limited to an account of how a conscientious sinner's troubles, his disappointments, deprivations, and bereavements can be turned to profit, can make him more humble and eventually more content with the providences of God. The author's own ailments and the loss of his beloved wife, Mary, had made him an expert in these matters, for he remained a true Puritan to the end, believing that the finger of the Lord directed every disaster and searching his conscience and conduct for the cause of every trial.

The title work is made up of ten "Meditations" and "A Conclusion Hortatory." Each meditation is preceded by a rhyme setting out the content of the section. The argument proceeds

with Ramean logic from the premise that it is necessary to suffer in order to be worthy of Christ. Saints should remember that worldly goods are but a snare and a delusion. God chastises his own to give them opportunity for humility and preparation for the ineffable joys of heavenly rest.

Meditation X would appear to be an early plea for racial tolerance and an understanding that all human beings are God's children. At the time of this writing there were some Negroes in the colony, most of them slaves. They were not always treated justly and were sometimes driven to such desperate retaliation as setting fire to dwelling houses. John Hull's diary records several instances of this sort in which Negroes were at least suspected as the instigators. Starting with a paraphrase of a verse from Psalm 45, Wigglesworth pleaded the cause of the Negro.

The daughter of the king,  
All glorious is within,  
How black soever and sun-burnt  
May seem her outward skin.  
Because I blackish am,  
Upon me look not ye  
Because that with his beams the sun  
Hath looked down on me.  
  
A patient suffering saint  
Is a right comely one:  
Though black as Kedar's tents, and as  
Curtains of Solomon.

He concluded the Meditation by saying that many a fair body is foul within.

His "Conclusion Hortatory," addressed "To those that are or hereafter may be in Affliction," becomes more personal than *The Day of Doom* could have possibly become because of its dramatic subject. In these final fifteen stanzas the poet used the I-Thou approach, confessing that, though for a long time he had been "A scholar in this school," he had made "little progress" toward purifying his soul of sin, but he would continue to work at the task. He urged his "Dear brother, Christian friend" to do likewise. Not only did he speak to the solitary reader, but

# MEAT

OUT OF THE  
EATER

OR

MEDITATIONS

Concerning  
The Necessity, End, and Usefulness of

## AFFLICTIONS

Unto GODs Children.

All tending to Prepare them For,  
and Comfort them Under the  
CROSS.

---

By *Michael Wigglesworth.*

---

The Fourth Edition.

---

BOSTON.

Printed by R. P. for John Usher. 1689.

*Title-Page of Wigglesworth's Book  
From the Prince Collection*





Oh! let New-England turn,  
When gentler warning's given:  
Lest by our sins the Lord to use  
Severity be driven.

God and New England were still in controversy. His clergy were still trying to ward off the threats of liberalism in church and state:

Come let's return to God  
He hath us torn, He'll heal:  
He hath us smitten with his rod,  
And bind us up he will.

Though the language for the most part was in the "plain style" Wigglesworth had learned as a student at Harvard, he now and then produced an allowable metaphor that brought this otherwise fairly abstract subject into relation with the everyday life of the colonists:

We must not on the knee  
Be always dandled,  
Nor must we think to ride to Heaven  
Upon a featherbed.

He said the journey to Heaven requires rowing upstream, sailing against wind and tide, climbing an arduous hill. God's laws he compared to a "fining pot" in which dross is consumed and gold made purer and to "fuller's soap" which will "wash our spots away." In fact, Meditation III is built principally on a series of figures. As frost clears the air, so afflictions "correct the rankness of our hearts." Just as an excess of honey makes one bilious, so "too-too-much prosperity" makes one proud and wanton, to be brought back to wholesomeness only through the "bitter aloe" of afflictions. He depicted other concrete situations — too much food and drink — and prescribed again the *catholicum* of suffering. Adversity he compared to ballast in the "bottom of a ship" and to a plow that prepares a weedy field.

The seventh stanza of Meditation III is in this same vein and bears a phrase which thirty-five years later appeared on his tombstone:

Full diet, dainty fare,  
With idleness and ease,

Heap up bad humors and contract,  
 Many a foul disease,  
 To soul and body too.

His epitaph named him "Malden's physician for soul and body too," evidence that this book was well-known, as indeed it must have been at the rate of four editions in less than twenty years.

THE second part of the book, "Riddles Unriddled," continues, in the main, the stanzaic pattern of the first, though a variation is introduced occasionally. Furthermore, the author could not resist a rhyme; the title of this section rhymes "Paradoxes" with "out of boxes"; then beneath the title the image is expanded in a six-line stanza:

Each paradox is like a box,  
 That cordials rare encloseth:  
 This key unlocks, op'neth the box  
 And what's within discloseth:  
 That whoso will may take his fill,  
 And gain where no man loseth.

Even the table of contents is in rhyme, the nine "Paradoxes" arranged in a "stave" on the second page:

Light in Darkness,  
 Sick Men's Health,  
 Strength in Weakness,  
 Poor Mens Wealth.  
 In confinement  
 Liberty,  
 In solitude  
 Good Company.  
 Joy in Sorrow,  
 Life in Deaths,  
 Heavenly Crowns for  
 Thorny Wreaths.

These division subjects are arranged in apposition with "Christian Paradoxes," which

Are presented to thy view,  
 In the poems which ensue.

At the bottom of the page Wigglesworth brought himself

into the work, for his songs and meditations were not objective commentary on Puritan theology, but had burgeoned from his own troubles:

If my trials had been thine,  
These would cheer thee more than wine.

The first paradox, "Light in Darkness," is presented in ten "Songs," several of which are cast in the form of dialogue. Anne Bradstreet's *Tenth Muse*, in 1650, had made use of this frame in a conversation between the Flesh and the Spirit, but whether Wigglesworth had read her book is not known. At any rate, here, when Flesh says he had hoped his sins were pardoned, Spirit reminds him that God chastises out of love. But, says Flesh, God's punishments are so severe that He surely does not love me. Spirit in reply cites the cases of Jacob, Moses, Job, David, and Heman as being much worse and goes so far as to suggest that Flesh may laugh at his present troubles when he gets to heaven.

In another dialogue, to the worrying of Distressed Conscience who fears damnation, Rectified Judgment is reassuring. It pays to keep trying, for God's sunshine can melt rock. Flesh and Spirit again take the stage, Flesh complaining that even after prayers God sends more affliction. Spirit maintains that God often delays answering prayer in order to build up satisfaction in his ultimate salvation. When Flesh suggests that even Spirit's faith may not last, undermined by unbelief, Spirit testily blames his doubts on the statements of Flesh, but announces his determination to hang on doggedly. The following song develops the idea that "Blasphemous, hellish thoughts" are inescapable, as the history of the saints shows, but Christ inflicts no more than man is capable of bearing. Then comes the admonition to keep on praying, for, if one concentrates on the good, evil will disintegrate.

At the end of Song VIII the poet announced:

Reader, I give thee here  
Two songs in other meter:  
I hope they will not make a jar,  
But close up all the sweeter.

The effect is of rising to a climax. Song IX, in the familiar

"fourteeners" of ballad structure, is a variation on the *De Profundis* of Psalm 130:

Lord, from the deeps I cry'd to Thee;  
My voice, Lord, do Thou hear.

The inversions and distortions are as wrenched as the lines of the *Bay Psalm Book*. Wrote Wigglesworth:

But such as walk by their own fire,  
Lie down in sorrow must.

This song is a somber preparation for the conclusion of "Light in Darkness," Song X, which is cast in quatrains, six-syllable lines in couplet rhymes. It is another dialogue, this time between "the Believing Soul and her Saviour." The first stanza, opening Soul's address, is a translation of the poet's Latin verses written after his wife's death: "Christe, parum doleo . . ."

Oh Christ, my grief is such,  
Because I love not much;  
But addeth to my sore,  
Because I grieve no more.

Soul begs for power to love God more and more. The Savior answers that, if Soul will believe with all his heart,

Light, pardon, joy and peace,  
Eternal life and ease,  
With full redemption,  
Shall be thy portion.

Soul is elated. Can such generosity actually be?

O gracious Grace indeed!  
Shown in a time of need.  
O God of Grace, all grace!  
How pleasant is Thy face.

The entire passage is joyous, a light-tripping hymn of thankfulness and praise rising in contrast to the longer lines and grave themes of the first nine Songs. The box, as the author promised, has been "broke open, smelling like sweet spices":

Let no sin interpose  
To hide, or make me lose  
Thy countenance's light,  
Which on me shines so bright.

Carefully pursuing the image of the paradox, the poet had demonstrated, in both development of subject and choice of forms and diction, a regard for relation between structure and meaning that, given other environment, creed, and purpose, might have yielded a more valuable poetic crop.

THE other boxes are "broke open" similarly. "Sick Men's Health" presents the paradox — the second — of a man's physical ailments turning him into a spiritual giant. Song I of "Strength and Weakness," the third paradox, paints man's own powers as very fragile:

Man's strength mere weakness is,  
As frail as Venice glass;  
And all his excellency like  
The flower upon the grass.

When man is weakest, he leans the most heavily on Christ, at which point he becomes invincible, for Christ's strength is in him. Song II of this paradox is a personal one: the poet himself had been frail. When in answer to prayer he had had strength to do God's public work, he had collapsed immediately afterwards. But he could not complain:

Hath not the Potter power  
To frame out of the clay  
One vessel for to serve him thus,  
Others another way?

The fourth paradox, "Poor Men's Wealth," is of course God's love and promise. "Earth's treasures are but dung" compared to heavenly riches. Where a cavalier poet could sing to his love that

Stone walls do not a prison make,  
Nor iron bars a cage . . .

Wigglesworth showed that this was true in his religion too.

"In Confinement Liberty" concedes that

Most men love liberty  
And covet elbow-room  
To have their wills, to serve their lusts,  
And up and down to roam.



But, if that is the only use to which they put freedom, they are slaves to sin:

And being under no restraint,  
They run to hell more free.

Physical liberty is desirable; yet the Lord can give freedom in captivity by subduing the captive's will to his own. The saints have often found more freedom "to meet with God" in prison or banishment than not — for example John on Patmos, Paul and Silas in stocks.

Song I of "In Solitude Good Company," the sixth paradox, states the theme: Man delights in companionship, but God is able to take away "the bitterness of solitude" of all "true believers." In this Song Wigglesworth recalled the shock of his own bereavement:

I can remember still  
That dismal solitude,  
The horror of that lonesomeness  
(And state of widowhood)  
Wherein my soul was once,  
From God estranged far:  
That was a wilderness indeed,  
Such only lonesome are.

In his diary, from time to time, he had confessed to his natural desire for companionship — had feared it might prevent his total focusing on the Lord. For him the loss of his wife had been a "horror." Only those who are thus deprived, he said, can know what "lonesome" is. Through persistent searching, prayer, and meditation, however, the believing man — whether sick, feeble, sitting alone, wandering "in the woods," lying down to sleep, or in danger — will find that God is near and companionable. The secret is to think of the dead relative or friend as being on loan from God.

The third Song of this group the author identified as one he had written at least "eight years ago," soon after his wife's death, about the time, then, of the Latin poems. Cast in the useful form of dialogue between Flesh and Spirit, it formalizes and hence dignifies his obviously genuine grief. When Flesh says he will bear any cross but parting from "one/Whom I esteem so dear," Spirit speaks sharply, demanding whether mere

mortal can dare to instruct God. And, when Flesh complains that surely no one has suffered as he had, Spirit snaps back that Flesh is deceived. But what if the suffering is new? Someone must lead. Besides, great suffering will bring on greater adoration of the Lord. "Love ordereth all for good." This Song, an early exercise in Christian discipline after Michael Wigglesworth's first great loss, had set the pattern for the ensuing decade in which he had become accustomed to widowhood, had in fact turned it to good account in his relation with his Heavenly Father.

**I**N "Joy and Sorrow," the seventh paradox, the poet resorted again to figurative speech. When one works at repentance, the "spring tides of joy" make deeper the channel begun by grief. Just as bleeding (that medieval practice) will ease a man's disease, so a bleeding heart will lessen grief and God's cordial will revive him. The deeper the plowing of repentance, the richer the crop of spiritual joy and holiness.

If drops of heav'nly pleasure  
Be sweet unto thy taste,  
How sweet will streams and rivers be,  
Where drink thy fill thou mayst!

Song IV of this group is introduced by a Latin phrase: *Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris Christum cum sanctis*: What solace for the afflicted to have had Christ and his saints as companion in sorrow. This Song is built on St. Paul's image of the saints as the body of Christ; when one suffers, all suffer.

In "Life in Deaths" comes the tenet that death is only the bridge to heavenly life. Daily we die as we lead lives of sin, but we take comfort in knowledge of bliss to come. "O Death, where is thy sting . . ."

The last — the ninth — paradox climaxes the book: "Heavenly Crowns for Thorny Wreaths." The author could not understand why sinners resist God's grace. Whereas in "A Song of Emptiness" in *The Day of Doom* he had challenged the unregenerate to continue enjoying their worldly "toys," here, even more violently, he dares them to show preference for everlasting damnation:

Which is the better choice:  
 With Christ in bliss to dwell,  
 Or for to roar eternally  
 Amidst the flames of hell?  
 What! Are you in a doubt  
 Which of the twain to choose?  
 Well, choose to burn, if that be best:  
 Choose hell, and heaven refuse.

He took it for granted that this horrible prospect would turn all his readers to Christ and subsequent "crowns of glory." To the argument that being good in order to gain a heavenly crown is mercenary, he replied that if Christ lists rewards to make men work harder at being good, are they not negligent in ignoring them? The poem ends with the invocation:

To Him be glory, honor, power,  
 Both now and evermore.

As a kind of postscript to hearten the afflicted, the poet added a quatrain:

Be cheerful, suffering saint;  
 Let nothing cast thee down:  
 Our Savior Christ ere long will turn  
 Thy cross into a crown.

These were the words of hope he had penned on the morning of his thirty-eighth birthday. This was the position he had won in the twenty years since his conversion in Cambridge. As his diary and the poems themselves show, the victory had been hard-won. And there is no reason to believe the battle was over. Giving up the struggle against his proclivity to sin was, for the true Puritan, sinking into a false complacency. Without doubt Michael Wigglesworth fought manfully, and with greater and greater assurance, against the Adversary to his last breath.

## Burns, the Glorious Sinner

### An Unpublished Essay by John Burroughs

In September 1872 George MacDonald (1824-1905), the Scotch poet and novelist, came to America on a lecture tour, his chief subject being Robert Burns. After a warm reception in Boston, where he spoke to a capacity audience at the Lyceum, he visited Providence, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington. He was accompanied by his wife and young son Greville, one of his eleven children. Greville, his future biographer, set down his memories of the first lecture in Boston: "It was then that the public discovered one aspect of his genius — his power of inspired, uplifting criticism, in no way spoiled by his just facing of facts. Through his wise and weighty, poetic and passionate words, without notes or help other than a little volume of Burns's works, he set the man before them, the lover, the romantic ploughman, the poet, in true portraiture, while his sins and shortcomings were fully accredited to him. I must have heard him lecture on Burns over forty times, I think, in the States, and used to declare that on every occasion it was a different lecture . . ."

In Washington MacDonald fell ill with bronchitis, but by the 20th of December he was able to lecture again. It was on this occasion that John Burroughs, then completing his nine-years' service at the Currency Bureau of the Treasury Department, heard him and composed shortly afterwards his caustic yet penetrating notes on Burns as well as the lecturer himself.

Whether Burroughs submitted his manuscript to the *Atlantic Monthly*, of which he was by then a fairly frequent contributor, is not known. It is unlikely that the article, which had no title, was published anywhere; at least the autograph copy owned by the Boston Public Library does not seem to have been handled by a printer. The bicentenary of Burns's birth is a good occasion to put it at last into print. (*Z. H.*)

**T**HAT our people, especially our cultivated classes have more head than heart I think is evinced in a good many ways; among others in the fact that in matters of literature and art, we generally have only a critical or intellectual pleasure, where we ought to feel an emotional or sympathetic

thrill. We require a fact, or a poem to be translated into the language of the intellect, which we ought to read and assimilate through our humanity and our primary attributes as men and women.

I was again reminded of this fact in listening to a lecturer from over seas who has been discoursing among us upon Burns, giving the high moral and literary statement of the Scottish poet. It was very fine and the audience was immensely pleased, vastly more pleased, no doubt the majority of them, than they ever had been with Burns himself. Indeed I did not believe there were ten persons in all that cultivated and well dressed crowd who habitually read Burns with deep pleasure, or had an original appreciation of him, or who would have accepted him as man or poet, had he been their neighbor and fellow citizen. I doubted if even the lecturer himself, who was his countryman and a poet of no mean order — lacking perhaps just that divine vagabondism and that practical loving fellowship with all forms of life which was at the bottom of the character of Burns as it is at the bottom of nearly all the poets of humanity — would have welcomed him or recognized him as the deliverer he now describes him.

The people all stirred with satisfaction as the lecturer said "When literature becomes dozy, respectable, and goes into the smooth grooves of fashion, and copies and copies again, something must be done; and to give life to that dying literature, a man must be found *not educated under its influence*." This is a bold saying and a true one, but to recognize and accept such a man when he comes and is your contemporary, is not so easy a matter. We are all engaged in making literature respectable and in keeping it in the smooth grooves of fashion — keeping it well dressed and well mannered and seeing to it that it does not go in low company or violate any of the proprieties — and Mr. McDonald is as conspicuous in the work as any; and let any outsider break into the sacred fold, let any fresh and powerful nature not pledged to our standards and conventions, nor educated under their influence, invade the higher walks of literature, and seek to let in the unperfumed air and the sunshine, and see what a reception he will meet with and what a good time he will have!



The national stomach in this country at least is not adequate to digest and assimilate a new and original man of great power. We require the edge to be taken off him by time; we require that he be passed down through the minds of two or three generations, discussed, lectured upon, molified, explained, gradually translated from the region of fact into the region of fancy. We must see him through a medium, through a glass dimly and not face to face. Walt Whitman for instance has shocked and continues to shock the American mind, and for the reason that he is so much of a fact and so little of a theory, that is, makes so little of an appeal to the purely scholarly and conventional man and such an enormous demand upon the man *per se* — upon the hold we have upon nature and life and the depth of aboriginal Being there is in us and back of us — the point where the modern nations are weak and where I believe we of all others are weakest. If Whitman had never existed, I have no doubt that the intellectual statement of formulation of what he has put in his poems, or in other words the rendering of the principles according to which he has worked into the language of criticism and of the essay, so that the appeal should be strictly to the acquired literary taste and culture of the reader instead of to his identity and original force and grip as a human being, would meet with ready acceptance where the poems are now scouted and denied. A creation is quite a different thing from an intellection. The critic's or lecturer's or essayist's account of a great poem or a great work of art in any field is like a traveler's description of a country while the poem or work is the country itself. Most of us find the ordinary everyday look of things dull and prosy enough till we are helped to what beauty and significance there is in them through a sketch or a painting, — till we see them through the colored medium of another mind.

Burns was certainly much molified in the lecturer's handling of him, lifted up from the common level of vulgar humanity into an ideal region, where the grosser and more stimulating parts of him were entirely lost sight of. The real rollicking, convivial, sinful, vulgar, divine poet that he was could hardly be inferred from that pleasing picture, any more than the huge globe could be inferred from Emerson's essay on Nature.

The ground of our interest in Burns is of course his humanity — the universal unregenerated human nature there is in him and the fullness and freedom with which he gives it utterance. He was a great sinner and I notice mankind loves great sinners of the Burns stripe. They touch us at so many points and seem so much nearer to us than the saints. Nearly all the dearly beloved poets were offenders, transgressors in some way against the prudent and conventional world. They were not clothed in spotless robes. You cannot make a poet out of a piece of chalk. Their sinfulness is a proof of their humanity — of their deep and fervid heart qualities. Our lecturer said with great truth and force that "The size of the heart makes the poet — the brain not at all. The poet partakes more of human essentials than others. The power of the poet comes not from any single gift. The commonest gifts possessed by all are found in the poet in larger and more harmonized quantities." How can he escape the common lot of man then? He does not escape it, or try to escape it. He must sound all experiences. He must know good and evil. He must sin and pay the penalty. How can a poet stand apart from men and be lifted up and effect the saint? This were proof that he did not belong to the true and divine race of bards. Who needs such pigments as the poet? Where can he get them but from his own heart? But if his heart is a pure heart or a sacred heart free from earthly and human taints and imperfections, what will his picture be?

Ah! the greediness of wickedness, the benefaction of the devil — when ground up into paint! Take the erring, sinful quality out of Burns — his convivial and roistering tastes, his love of wine and of the Scotch lasses, and in general his affiliation with the simpler and under forms of life, and you no doubt make him a better citizen, and a more *respectable* man, but where are his songs? It is not the good citizen, the conventional man, the exemplary member of the Established Church that sings, or is revealed by these poems; it is the man quite outside and independent of these things, if not hostile to them, the loving, suffering, tender sinful brother of us all, having a good time and a bad time, taking his chances, running the risks, entering into the game of life as it presented itself to him there in peasant Scotland with zest and enthusiasm, repressing and concealing

nothing, never going apart from his life and his experience to write his poems — one thing in words, another in deeds — but living what he wrote and writing what he lived.

Had he been less Burns and more McDonaldish, had he not gone so deep down among the roots of things, had he stood on a higher social plain and been a housed and potted plant instead of the wild indigenous growth that he was, could he ever have become the national poet of Scotland? Scotland has produced poets higher up in the scale, more scholarly, accomplished and respectable, but just in the degree in which they are higher up do they appear to be farther away from the sources of freshness and power. Burns brought new blood. A fountain burst into light and life in him. It was not to make literature, to write "poems" that he sang, but to free his heart. Hence it is not as a scholar or a *literateur* that he appeals to us but as a fellow being. In the later poets of that land, in Buchanan and McDonald, the taint of scholarship, the curse of professional verse-making, which of course more or less vitiates all the efforts of the booked and cultivated man in this field, is over all. That literature which is a wild and natural growth, not in the sense of being lawless and unkempt, but in the sense of being rank and hardy and spontaneous, takes the deepest and strongest hold upon the human heart. The forced and coddled and stimulated products of the conscious poets, the poets *pre-pense*, while they may merit our attention, can never win our love.

Both the poets mentioned belong to the aristocracy of letters; they stand apart with their skirts gathered about them; they are vastly superior to the conditions of life and manners out of which Burns sprang. Their fine high natures have not a broad and coarse enough base.

If we could submit the poetical luminaries to something similar to the spectrum analysis to which we submit the [light] we should soon see what entered into their composition, what measure of pure white light each had. I know very well the purist, the dainty and refined creatures would not cast a perfect spectra. They would be found wanting in the good red rays, to say nothing of the dark heat rays. Their exhibit would fall toward the cold violet end of the spectrum. From glorious sinners like Burns we would get plenty of the strong deep colors

and plenty of the warmth and fecundity that falls upon this side of the screen, while the finer efflorescent rays would not be wanting. The women poets for the most part would yield nothing stronger than yellow, while only the great bards would cover the whole scale, ranging from the delicate hovering violet bloom on the one hand to the strong deep band of orange and red on the other. Tyndall showed us how the pure solar beam was composed of both fine rays and coarse rays, and how with the angel of light went wedded the angel of darkness — vast towering, gigantic, potent, beneficent, working invisible and unsuspected — the hands and feet and backbone of its shining and lesser brother. The light or visible rays without the dark or invisible are sterile, impotent — the husk without a kernel, the form without the substance, and yet in life, in morality and in literary criticism we not only ignore the dark rays but we filter out the red and the orange; we refine and refine again till we are the third or fourth removed from the sources of life and power. It is to be objected to the poets and literary artists of our day and land, not that they are not fine enough, but that they are not coarse enough, not coarse enough for weight and strength and to afford that tangible resistance the mind loves. They are for the most part mere efflorescence, dainty delicate shades and tints of sentiment. Under the strong solar beams of the antique bards the mind waxes brawny and supple. The heat rays and the coarse red rays are not eliminated from the light they shed. There is breadth and heartiness there as well as fineness and sensibility. But the thin fine intellectual light of current poetical literature makes the heart pale and the pulse feeble. There are no bracing manly qualities in it but plenty of scholarly and drawing room qualities.

There is a very near approach to heroic traits in some of Emerson's poetry, but for the most part, the very best of our poets would be immensely improved by a strong infusion of the common, aboriginal unregenerated Adamic man. If Walt Whitman is overcharged with this quality as some believe, he is rendered all the more startling and conspicuous by the almost utter absence of it in contemporary singers. In a rugged-er and more virile age, or among a people with less pruriency and false refinement, his reception would have been very different.

For my part I think the deep rude primary human qualities were never so much needed in poems and in imaginary works in general as now and here. There was never such a dearth of them before in the history of the world. I have no faith in any structure, literary or artistic, that does not reach down to and finally rest upon the average qualities and instincts of mankind.



## “La Mythologie” of Gustave Doré

By EDITH A. WRIGHT

MANY artists have led tragic lives, saddened by poverty and obscurity, some a prey to alcohol or drugs. Doré's life does not fit into this pattern. No Bohemian, his circumstances were comfortable and acclaim came early, while in later life he was the pet of English society. He was an unrelenting worker and, though he loved gaiety and insisted on drinking champagne at every meal, he was not given to excesses. His tragedy was rather that of a man of great talent who regarded himself as a genius; that of an artist of marvelous facility who achieved success too soon, lacked training and discipline, and, not content with his skill as an illustrator, longed to be recognized as a great painter.

Every tragedy must have a villain, and in Doré's case a post-Freudian generation is apt to find the villain in the artist's devoted but possessive mother, who tirelessly proclaimed her son's genius, presided over his home, went with him on vacation trips — and who became upset and ill when, as a mature man, he announced his engagement. The marriage was broken off, and Doré remained a bachelor. His mother's death shattered him, and he survived her by only two years.

Doré was born on January 6, 1832, at Strassburg. His father was an engineer, who had little appreciation of art and thought it no career for his son. But he made a companion of the boy, taking him along on surveying trips in the mountains of Alsace and later in French Savoy. On these trips Doré acquired a passionate love for mountain scenery which is reflected throughout his work. His career as an illustrator was foreshadowed in early childhood. When he was about five years old he began to illustrate his letters, and soon he was filling sketchbooks with drawings. They included humanized animals or animalized humans, inspired by the works of the contemporary French artist Grandville, and sketches of peasants, friends, and family. In them his aptitude for caricature and fantasy is already established.

At the age of eight he wrote and illustrated a little book as a present to the Doré's neighbors at Strassburg, the Brauns. It was called "The Brilliant Adventures of M. Fouilloux," and had the Braun's dog for its hero. Other manuscript books followed, based perhaps on what the boy was studying at school — a life of Jupiter, a "Vulcan," and a satire on Fénelon's *Télémaque*. When he was about ten, he did a "Voyage en Enfer" and began working on illustrations of the Bible.

He was eleven when the family moved to Bourg, a town in French Savoy. There, at Mademoiselle Jeannot's Academy of Art, he received his only formal training in drawing. Characteristically, he refused to draw from the model, but preferred to sketch his fellow-pupils. It was at this time that he made his first lithographs, two of which were published in 1845. One of them was a lively sketch of children sliding on the ice. To this period also belongs a comic-strip history of the labors of Hercules, which was later published by Auber in Paris. From the age of sixteen he earned his living and financed his own education. He himself has described how this came about:

In the month of September, 1847, my parents were summoned to Paris upon important business, and took me with them. Their stay was only intended to last three weeks. The idea of returning to the provinces after having once contemplated Paris, the center of light and civilization, disheartened me sadly. I set to work to find out how I could possibly contrive to remain behind when my parents should leave, because at that time I had only one idea — that of consecrating myself to the career of the fine arts. This idea, however, still encountered a lively resistance from my parents, who had destined me, like my two brothers, to undergo a scientific training at the Polytechnic School. One day, after staring for some minutes at the shop window of Auber and Philipon, whose place of business was situated on the Place de la Bourse, on entering my hotel it fortunately occurred to me to dash off a few caricatures in the style of those at which I had been looking. Taking advantage of the momentary absence of my parents, I ran back to the shop, and presented my little drawings to those well-known publishers.

M. Philipon examined my sketches kindly and attentively, questioned me minutely as to my position, and then sent me back to my parents with a letter inviting me to come and have a talk with him about myself. They went to see him, and M. Philipon spoke most urgently to them, bringing to bear all the arguments he could think

of, in order to vanquish their objections and overcome the fears inspired in them by the notion of my undertaking the career of an artist. Eventually he obtained their permission for me to remain in Paris, assuring them that henceforth he would utilize my sketches and pay me for them.\*

A three-year contract was signed in April, 1848, according to which Doré was to create at least one cartoon a week for Philipon's new magazine, *Le Journal Pour Rire*. At the same time, he continued his studies at the Lycée Charlemagne, and spent much time in museums and at the Bibliothèque Nationale, studying prints and engravings. He did well in school, and was popular with other students, while his professors sometimes called him to the blackboard to illustrate their lectures. In his spare time he worked on a variety of projects.

OF this early period of happy abundance, the Boston Public Library has been fortunate enough to secure a fine example — a thirty-four leaves manuscript "Mythologie" with forty-five ink drawings. Though a work of Doré's youth, it reveals a remarkably mature talent.

The history of the volume is given in a note signed by A. (?) Vidart, dated in Paris, November 26, 1928. Translated into English it reads: "This Gustave Doré was found thirty-five years ago [that is, in 1893, ten years after the artist's death] at the farm near Divonne les Bains (Ain) by my father, Alfred Vidart. The farmer had been at the college of Bourg with Doré, who had begun the album for a young girl, but before he had completed it he had given it to his chum." The book was therefore not known at the time Blanche Roosevelt did her biography, on which later writers on Doré have largely drawn for accounts of his youth, and it does not seem to have been described or reproduced.

Although the "Mythologie" is not dated, it was apparently produced when Doré was not more than fifteen years old. M. Vidart's note locates it in the period when he was still living in Bourg, and the circumstances of its creation indicate that

---

\*Blanche Roosevelt, *Gustave Doré*, New York, 1885, pp. 60-61.





*Le Temps*





Doré was still an amateur. Further, according to a poem in the book, Emilie, the young girl to whom it was addressed, was about fifteen. The book is handsomely bound in half-leather, with marbled endpapers. Inside the front cover is a label "Bibliothèque du Docteur Lucien-Graux." The leaves are nine inches wide; the first seventeen are nine inches long, the next thirteen twelve and a half, and the last four twelve and a quarter. There are eight full-page drawings; the other pages contain both text and drawings.

On the title-page the words "La Mythologie" appear against a background showing the entrance to the Lower Regions. A naked and cadaverous Acheron, holding a broken oar, sits on the right, an equally cadaverous Cerberus chained at his feet; in the middle background one sees the River Styx, and on the left a rocky staircase, with three weird creatures sitting at the bottom. Descending the stairs are two figures which might be Vergil and Dante in caricature. On page two there is an historiated capital "P", showing the artist and a Cupid against a leafy background. The first lines explain the subject, occasion, and form of the book. They begin: "Since you order me, Emilie, to retrace for you the history of the gods of fable, allow me to mingle poetry with my discourse. She is the friend of fable and the interpreter of love." There follows, accordingly, a satirical account of the ancient gods, written in a mixture of prose and verse, and interrupted by passages of somewhat stilted gallantry. The work is conceived in the form of letters, of which six may be distinguished by means of the decorated initials, although only Letters IV and V are so titled.

The first letter is the most complete — five pages long. It treats of the origin of the gods and their battle with the Titans, and tells how, in order to escape the latter, they fled into Egypt and transformed themselves into animals, plants, etc. There is a half-page drawing of the Titans and a full-page one showing the transformations of the gods. Jupiter appears as a lion with a man's face, Minerva as a rather gloomy-looking owl crowned with a crescent moon, Bacchus as a fox hung with grape-clusters, Cupid as a bird with human arms and legs, carrying a bow. There are also other animals, and a tree with a human countenance. The whole is cleverly drawn and amusing.

An entertaining sketch shows an Egyptian family adoring a cat, and a boy rushing toward the open mouth of a crocodile. In a council held by Jupiter, Juno "contradicts him as usual," and Vulcan tries to speak but is called a silly fool by Venus.

The second letter contains the history of Vesta and Cybele. The third tells of the marriage of Saturn to Cybele and the birth of Jupiter, and how this god conquered Titan and drove Saturn from Olympus. A fragmentary history of Janus concludes the letter. The fourth recounts in more detail Jupiter's childhood and his victory over the Titans. The fifth introduces a variety of subjects, most of them incomplete, including the tales of the heroes Arrachion, who was crowned victor at Olympia after his death, and Milo of Crotona, who carried a bull on his shoulders; a ghost-story, and some excursions into gallant poetry. The final letters contain the story of Jupiter, Juno and Io, the birth of Minerva, and the legend of Arachne. There is no real conclusion; Doré abandoned the project in the middle.

As a writer, the fifteen-year-old boy was less skillful than as an artist, and more visibly assuming a rôle beyond his years. Mingled with the account of the gods are numerous sentimental passages, which have an eighteenth-century flavor and are patently artificial and imitative. Expressions like "*l'objet qu'on adore*," "*doux épanchements*," and the "perfidious transparency" of women's veils must already have been old-fashioned, and it is comical to hear a boy speaking knowingly of the dandies of Paris or of "our Parisian ladies" whose wit is most amiable when it conflicts with good sense; lamenting that time carries everything away, and that old age comes on when man has just begun to live. As for the verse, the best thing one can say of it is that the rhymes are pure.

However, the drawings already show a professional sureness of touch, although the figures are not always perfectly proportioned, a reproach which was also brought against Doré's later work. Throughout his life, Doré refused to draw from models, preferring to rely on his prodigious memory or on imagination. Many of the pictures retain pencil lines, showing tentative states or in some cases later corrections. In a number of them, a background is provided by a network of lines, such as one might find in a woodcut or etching.

The full-page drawings include Vesta in a lion-drawn chariot, holding a globe; Time, an old man with a beard, wings, and a scythe; a fox with human feet, sitting in a room among overturned furniture; a cavern in the woods; Jupiter with his eagle among thunder-clouds; and Minerva rising "full-armed from the brow of Jove." Of the smaller drawings, every leaf contains one or more. The story of Milo is adorned by a picture of the hero carrying the bull on his shoulders, and by a grotesque sketch of him after he had eaten it. A charming scene shows Argus, the guardian of Io, being lulled to sleep by Mercury; and there is a return to caricature in the portrayal of Vulcan splitting Jupiter's head with hammer and crowbar as a headache cure. Doré's signature occurs only once in the book, attached to a spirited drawing of Polydamas fighting a lion.

Two pages portray Emilie at various ages — playing with a little boy, while her father looks on; later, trying to run toward a circle and dancing children but held back by a restraining arm; then in a ball-gown, offering her hand to a young partner; and finally, reading a love-letter which bears her name at the top. The text explains that at five Emilie felt a leaning toward love, at ten a desire, at thirteen an inclination, and at fifteen the need to love! It predicts that she will be married at eighteen.

There is no clue as to who Emilie was, or as to why the book was never finished or presented to her. Doré's pictures of her reveal her as a pretty young girl with wavy hair and a straight, rather large nose; and the text praises her wit and beauty. This is all that one is told or can guess. Doré's first known love-affair occurred when he was about nineteen. According to Paul Lacroix, who had known him well since his early days in Paris, he was madly in love and asked her father, a government employee, for her hand, but was rejected as lacking in solid prospects. The girl's name is not reported, and there is no particular reason for equating her with Emilie.

DORÉ continued for ten years, until 1858, to draw caricatures for *Le Journal Pour Rire* and its successor *Le Journal Amusant*. Some of the subjects were "Vacation Pleasures," "Life in the Provinces," "The English in Paris," "Scenes of Sea-

Bathing," and "A Village Ball." They reveal a seemingly inexhaustible verve. But Doré was not content to do caricatures; he wished to create serious art. In his own words: "The school of caricature was not much to my taste, and although during four or five years I produced drawings innumerable, it was simply because the only publisher who accepted my work had only this one exclusive specialty of publication. All my time that was not employed in working for him, I occupied with serious studies in drawing. At last, about the year 1853, I found an excuse to free myself from the actualities of comic work, which were a source of extreme annoyance to me."

Aside from his caricatures, he had done illustrations for a series of historical novels, edited by Lacroix, and for one or two other books. His first important work, still in a comic vein, was the *Rabelais* (1854). The Library has the second edition (Paris, 1857) which, like the first, is on poor paper. As Doré wrote in his journal: "This was the first thing of mine which made a *sensation*, and by eliciting praise from the press, brought me conspicuously before the notice of the public." According to Lacroix, "the brilliance of his genius burst upon Paris like a meteor." There are 103 drawings in the volume. The work gave full scope to Doré's fantasy and comic gusto, as well as to his love of Gothic architecture. But his unique masterpiece was Balzac's *Contes Drolâtiques*, published in 1855. The Library has a magnificent copy of the first edition, presented by the artist to Frederick Locker in London, May 30, 1868, with the words, "Souvenir affectueux." The volume has 425 illustrations, including many small vignettes. They adorn the tales and express their spirit with true genius.

Three more books with illustrations by Doré were published in 1855, and eight in 1856. One of these, *The Legend of the Wandering Jew*, initiated the long series of over-sized "fine editions," in which full-page plates dominated the book. In the 1860's appeared the great folios for which he is most widely known — Dante's *Inferno*, *Don Quixote*, the Bible, La Fontaine's *Fables*, and many others, including travel-books on Spain and the Pyrenees. The *Chemin des Ecoliers* (1861), which describes a trip to Strassburg, the Black Forest, Heidelberg, etc., contains many charming little vignettes. The illustrations for



Perrault's fairy-tales possess charm and freshness, and an imaginative quality. In *Don Quixote*, too, many of the small drawings are lively. However, as time went by, the artistic failures outnumbered the successes. One of the exceptions was *London*, published in 1876 with text by Blanchard Jerrold, and notable for its striking pictures of the poor. The picture of Newgate Prison in it was copied almost exactly by Van Gogh in his painting "Les Prisonniers en Ronde."

Doré himself regarded his picture-books as pot-boilers. To achieve recognition as a painter was his great ambition. He had begun to work seriously at painting while still at the Lycée, and first exhibited a painting at the Salon when he was only eighteen. But his facility and over-confidence were against him. While at the Lycée he had picked up some hints about painting in the studio of Henry Scheffer, Ary's brother, but this seems to have been the only instruction he had after the short period of art-school at Bourg. In later life he tended to avoid painters, in order to shield his wounded vanity. His paintings, most of them very large, were done rapidly. They have been characterized as "gigantic painted illustrations."

Though French critics were cold to the paintings, Victorian England was more appreciative. In 1868 an exhibition of his religious works was held in London, and later a permanent Doré Gallery was established in the city. The glory lavished on him by the English compensated somewhat for the coldness of his own country. He spent much time in England in his later years, and became a welcome figure in London society.

The Library has over forty works illustrated by Doré. A selection of these, together with the manuscript of "La Mythologie," is on view in the Treasure Room.



# The Hunt Collection on the West Indies

(Continued from the January and July 1959 issues)

By ELLEN M. OLDHAM

**A**MONG the most interesting, and surely the rarest, of the items Benjamin Hunt collected relating to Haiti's struggles toward independence and self-government are the forty or fifty proclamations, pamphlets, and larger volumes produced at the local printing presses. From the days of the French occupation one finds a handsome work printed at Port-au-Prince in 1789, the *Eloge Funèbre du Comte d'Ennery*, the funeral oration for a governor greatly respected by the planters. "This book is valued as a fine specimen of typography by Mozard, the only good printer that the colony ever possessed," remarks Hunt in his manuscript catalog.

The Boston Public Library has probably the largest extant collection of imprints from the royal press of Henri Christophe, twenty-seven in all, four of which seem to be unrecorded. Although the *Imprimerie Royale* was established at Sans Souci only in 1817, the government had published a number of works between 1811 and 1816 at the original capital, Cap Henry, using the press of P. Roux, "imprimeur du roi." The earliest and perhaps most important of these acquired by Hunt is a copy of the famous *Code Henry*, which Mr. Max Bissainthe, in his *Dictionnaire de Bibliographie Haitienne* (Washington, D. C., 1951) calls "one of the rarest imprints in Haitian bibliography," only two other copies being known. A plump volume of nearly 800 pages, the code includes sections dealing with civil, criminal, commercial, agricultural, and military law. Hunt notes that it is based on the Code Napoleon.

The most prolific of the writers of Christophe's court was Pompée Valentin, Baron de Vastey, represented in the Hunt Collection by eight works, including the four hundred-page *Essai sur les Causes de la Révolution et des Guerres Civiles d'Hayti*, printed at Sans Souci in 1819. Another prominent author was Julien Prevost, Conte de Limonade, who held the position of Minister of Foreign Affairs and Secretary of State. Many of

the writings of these and others relate to attempts of the French to regain the colony — especially the “commission” of three formed by Dauxion Lavaysse, son of an old “colon”; Daveman, an obscure Frenchman; and Agostino Franco Medina, a Spanish adventurer. They offered their services to Malouet, the French minister, in sounding out the dispositions of Christophe, who held the North, and Alexandre Pétion, who had taken possession of the South. The “commission” utterly failed; Medina was imprisoned and put to death as a spy, and the adventure was disavowed by the French government.

Another French agent was Catineau Laroche; the *Communication Officielle* of three of his letters to Pétion, with a running commentary by the Baron de Vastey (Cap Henry, 1816), seems not to be listed in either Bissainthe's *Dictionnaire* or the checklist of Ralph T. Esterquest, “L’Imprimerie Royale d’Hayti (1817-1819)” published in *The Papers of The Bibliographical Society of America*, V. 34 (1940). One may mention here the other pamphlets in the Hunt Collection unknown to bibliographers: the first *Lettre du Chevalier de Prézeau* (Cap Henry 1815); Jean Baptiste Dupuy's *Première Lettre . . . à M. H. Henry* (Cap Henry, 1814?); and the *Lettre du Comte d’Ennery* (1815).

The Lavaysse incident gave rise to the *Plan Général de Défense du Royaume d’Hayti*, issued by Christophe on November 20, 1814. It ordered that upon the appearance of an enemy on the coast all the towns, villages, and houses in the plains must be burnt, the bridges destroyed, and the people retired into the mountains for guerilla warfare.

**B**UT all was not spies and warfare at the court of Emperor Henry. Beginning in 1813 there was issued annually the *Almanach Royal d’Hayti*, which included a complete listing of the nobility, the members of the court, and the royal household from the Grand Almoner through the pages, the surgeons, the governesses of the Princesses Royal, to the palace guards. There are short chapters on the duties of each of the administrative departments, and a listing of all military officers down through the second-lieutenants. And it is here, in the Royal Almanac, that one gets the clearest picture of the ambition of

Christophe, the former slave, to emulate the most cultivated courts of Europe. One reads that "in each town and village of the kingdom is established a public school, the professors of which are encouraged and protected by the government." Here are taught French, English, Spanish, and Latin, the first principles of geography, history, mathematics, design, and "les arts d'agrément"—polite accomplishments. There were at the court an Académie Royale de Musique and a Théâtre Royal, the latter composed of "amateurs, especially maintained for the court, and playing for the pleasure of Their Majesties and the perfection of the art." Le Chevalier de Cincinnatus Leconte was the superintendent of the theater; and twenty-eight "Amateurs" were listed, with seven members of the ballet.

Finally the Almanac contains the "Extrait de l'Étiquette de la Cour," with its precise instructions for presentations (which took place on Thursdays and other days when Their Majesties permitted them). The "court circle" was a special audience held by the Emperor every Thursday at five o'clock, with compulsory attendance by all nobles and their wives. The nobles were to wear military or other suitable costumes, with their swords as the most fitting adornment. Each person was placed by the Grand Master of Ceremonies according to his rank; in the circle, no one was to address Their Majesties without first obtaining permission from the Master of Ceremonies or the Maid of Honor—unless Their Majesties spoke directly to him. A public audience was held Thursday mornings, when anyone could address the Emperor either verbally or by petition.

Pétion's Republic in the south of the island was by no means devoid of protocol and formal occasions either. A pamphlet of seven pages is preserved in the Hunt Collection, containing the speeches and ceremonies of the *fête* on January 1, 1815, celebrating the twelfth anniversary of Haitian Independence. A *Programme* had been published three days earlier, in order that each participant could take his proper place. A picked troop of cavalry opened the procession, followed by the band playing "Où peut-on être mieux qu'au sein de sa famille?"; by the school children and their teachers; deputations of all the classes of laborers; government employees, etc. The parade

led first to the Maison Nationale, then to the Field of Arms for speeches, and finally to the parish church where a solemn *Te Deum* was sung.

A series of five "ordinances" dating from 1849 show the internal arrangements of the empire re-established by Faustin I. In them one finds a full listing of the hereditary titles created by the new Emperor, and a guide to his ministers, aides-de-camp, and the officers of the Household Guards—and the tariff imposed on many articles of commerce.

One further example of early Haitian printing may be mentioned: a copy of the *Abécédaire Haitien*, printed by Jh. Courtois at Port-au-Prince in March 1847 (though the cover of the Hunt copy is dated 1849). The volume in the Library lacks the first ten pages; the remaining forty include the Ten Commandments in verse, a number of short lessons consisting of moral dissertations and fables, arithmetic tables, and—what is most interesting today — a historical "précis" of Haiti's past. Originating in the southern part of the country, the story is told from its point of view. Toussaint l'Ouverture is completely ignored; the first name given is that of Dessalines, under whom independence was proclaimed in 1804. The reign of the latter is quickly summarized: "His throne was destroyed as soon as erected; the people repaid the services of the citizen and punished the actions of the tyrant." Of Christophe it states: "After having made his fellow citizens groan for fourteen years under a rod of iron and blood, he expiated his crimes by committing suicide," while, to the contrary, Alexandre Pétion was "Founder of the Republic, who made tears flow only by his death." Included are also the political and financial treaties between Haiti and France of 1838, and an account of the revolt of 1842-43 which unseated President Jean-Pierre Boyer, continuing with the elevation of Phillippe Guerrier to the presidency in 1845.

WHILE the blacks of the French colony of St. Domingo were winning freedom and struggling toward self-realization as a nation, those of the other islands were not as fortunate. The flourishing trade in slaves, nurtured in large measure by



the needs of the sugar industry, was mentioned briefly in the first of these articles. In general, each European country with colonies in the West Indies supplied African natives for its own nationals; Spain, however, though with the largest colonial empire, preferred to farm out the slave trade to a contractor who, in return for handling the business, was given a monopoly or *asiento*. In the late seventeenth century this monopoly — a most valuable concession — became the largest target for international intrigue, contributing to the constant round of wars among the European powers. In 1702 an *asiento* was concluded with the French Guinea Company, but by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 it was transferred to a newly formed English group, the South Sea Company, the agreement assigning to the latter exclusive rights for the supply of slaves for thirty years. In addition, the Treaty gave the Company the privilege of sending a shipload of general merchandise to South America each year.

In theory this was a fine thing for the English, but it seems never to have been as profitable as hoped for, since the Spanish demanded a large share of the profits, the ships were frequently searched for contraband, and there were often interruptions in trade due to a state of war. The residents of the British West Indies were opposed to the South Sea Company from the first, for they claimed that their trade with the Spanish colonies in both slaves and commodities had been considerably heavier when in private hands. In 1720 speculation in the stock led to the famous South Sea Bubble scandal.

Countless books and pamphlets have been written on the South Sea Company and on West Indian trade in its other aspects; as usual, Benjamin Hunt gathered together a representative group. As an introduction one might choose *The Spanish Rule of Trade to the West Indies* (London, 1702), John Stevens's translation of a Spanish work. Covering all aspects of Spain's own fleet, the duties accruing to the King, lists of exports and imports to the Spanish Indies, and so on, the volume also relates briefly the early history of the *asiento*. In 1710 appeared an anonymous pamphlet, *The Royal African Company and the Separate Traders*, arguing for free trade in slaves; yet four years later, after the trade was thrown open, a "Planter" voiced his



desire for monopoly, alleging, in *Some Observations Shewing the Danger of Losing the Trade of the Sugar Colonies*, that private competition had made slaves ruinously costly in the British islands. There were charges and countercharges: in 1728 a Jamaican resident wrote *Some Observations on the Asiento Trade, as it hath been Exercised by the South Sea Company*, emphasizing the unfairness of the proposed exemption of the Company from an export duty on Negroes. The Factor of the Company immediately came back with *An Answer to a Calumny . . .*, followed by the first writer's *A Defence of the Observation . . .*

But the squabbles between Englishmen at least did not lead to war; the constant friction between the English and the Spaniards was a different matter. It was the boarding of an English ship and the humiliation of its Captain which helped trigger the "War of Jerkins' Ear," which began in 1739 and did not end until 1748, drawing into it France as well. Twelve pamphlets contain accounts, charges, and rebuttals relating to one of the engagements of this war — the expedition of Admiral Edward Vernon against the Spanish port of Carthagena on the South American mainland. After the Treaty was finally signed at Aix-la-Chapelle, there was some attempt to revive the *asiento*; one of the pamphlets, *Considerations on the Revival of the Royal-British-Asiento* (London, 1749) by Malachy Postlethwayt, advocated in fact the establishment of a monopoly comprising the entire British-African trade. However, the South Sea Company had not sent an "annual ship" since 1733, and its slave trade was never restored; instead, Spain paid it the sum of £100,000 in return for relinquishing all claims to the *asiento*.

Although the provision of slaves passed from the South Sea Company to other hands, the trade continued as a vital part of British commerce. It was not until the last quarter of the eighteenth century that public opinion, in the mother country at least, began to turn against the practice. The first active agitator was Grandville Sharp, who in 1772 obtained from the Chief Justice the ruling that the right of property in slaves could not be upheld before the courts of England. Sharp is represented the Hunt Collection by *The Just Limitation of Slavery in the Laws of God . . .* (London, 1776). Anti-slavery societies were formed; and the exertions of William Wilberforce, the

leader of the movement, on January 1, 1808 brought finally into being the Act of the Abolition of the Slave Trade. Wilberforce was the author of many tracts, such as the *Letter on the Abolition of the Slave Trade* (London, 1807).

Although Britishers could no longer engage legally in slave trade, there was little or no decrease in the actual import of slaves into the colonies. The United States and Cuba were, in fact, experiencing greater demands than ever. And, even while other nations legislated against the practice, willing traders were always to be found.

The next step, of course, was the abolition of slavery itself. To the agitator in England, and to members of Parliament who had no association with the West Indies and its trade, this seemed not only a humane but also a fairly easy thing to do. To the planters, however, it spelled ruin. The thought of losing their slaves, and thus the very possibility of operating their estates, made them oppose even the various Acts of Amelioration designed to curtail their absolute power over the slaves. In the islands themselves the growing band of missionaries exerted pressure, and in turn met opposition even by force from the planters. Uprisings among the Negroes became more frequent. In the end, the trend of the times could not be denied, and the Emancipation Act became law in 1833.

At the mid-point of the nineteenth century the West Indies entered a new era — a time of transition to the modern period.

## Hiram C. Merrill, 1866-1958

By ARTHUR W. HEINTZELMAN

**M**R. HIRAM C. MERRILL, the distinguished wood-engraver — a member of the New School of Engraving which flourished at the turn of the century — died on October 9, 1958, in Cambridge, at the age of ninety-two. He was a constant visitor to the Print Department in the Boston Public Library, and became interested in building up its holdings of contemporary wood-engraving.

The New School of Engraving was organized in 1876 and endured until 1910. Its leaders included such memorable men as Timothy Cole, John G. Smithwick, T. A. Butler, E. Schladitz, F. H. Wellington, Henry Wolf, Gustav Kruell, and others — all bench-mates of Mr. Merrill.

Although wood-engraving was practiced to an extensive degree in England and on the Continent during the time when the New School was at its height, Philip Gilbert Hammerton, British connoisseur and critic, praised this group as one which, in his estimation, surpassed those of all other nations. The New School in America, led by Timothy Cole and John G. Smithwick, discarded old traditions for a new arrangement and combination of line to render a more faithful interpretation of the original work. It was Mr. Merrill's task to make engravings from the drawings and paintings of Jules Guerin, a famous illustrator of the time, all executed in characteristic chromatic tones. The work called for an engraver with a special understanding of color values.

Mr. Merrill's additions of contemporary engravings to the Print Department include the entire output of two of our foremost artists, Thomas Nason and Asa Cheffetz. He also presented the Library with prints other than engravings, including the works of Reginald Marsh, Michel Ciry, Auguste-Jean Gaudin, Susanne Humbert, and others. His donations were notable because of their scope, making a valuable inheritance for the study of works of art that will live.

The last surviving member of the New School, Mr. Merrill was active with his block and graver until a few months before

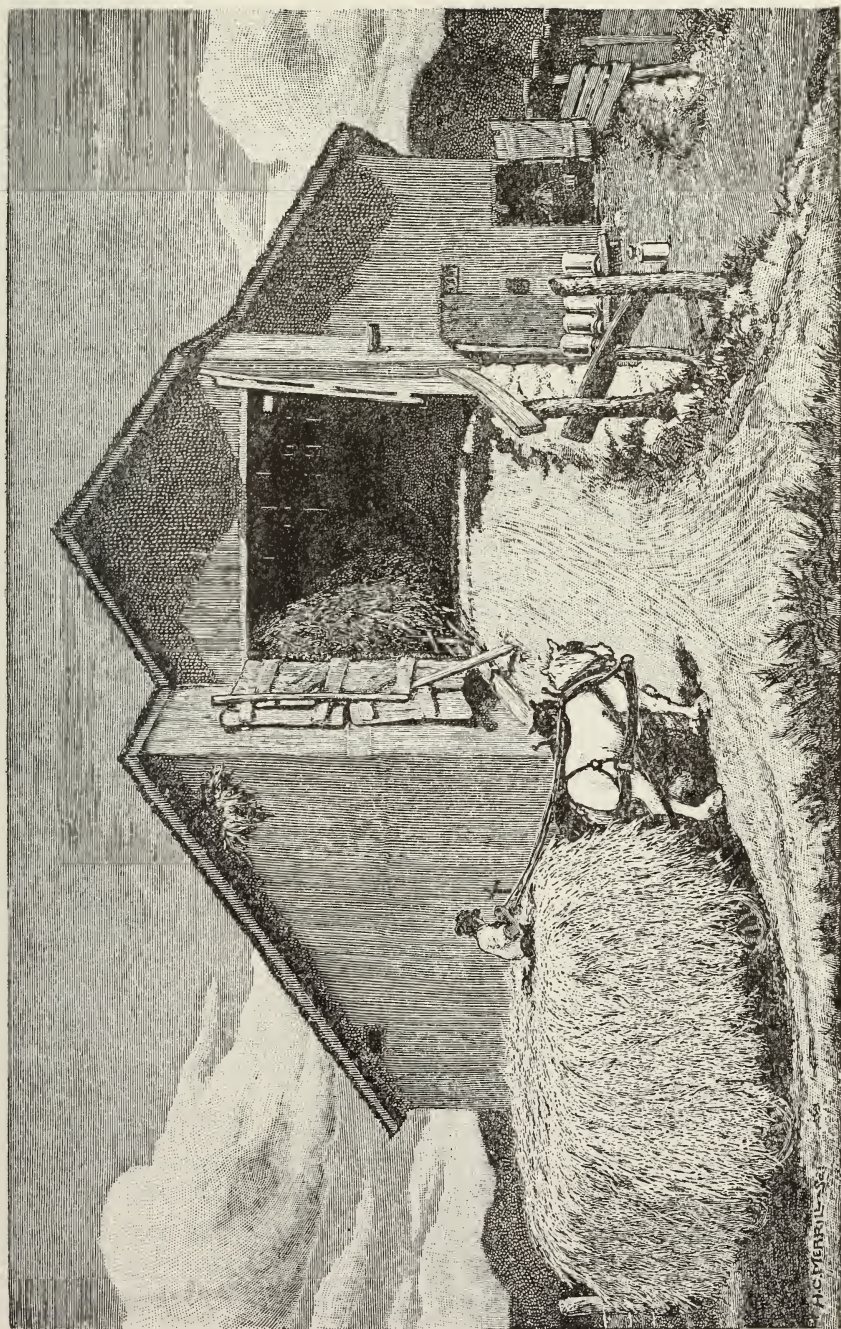
his death. His aspirations were manifest at an early age. It was his hope to be a painter, but, lacking funds while engaged in study, he was advised to serve an apprenticeship in wood-engraving with John Andrew and Sons in Boston. In 1891 he went to New York, where he free-lanced and engraved a number of subjects for the Harper and Scribner magazines. He later entered Harper's as a staff-member working for both the weekly and monthly publications. He studied at the Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, under Herbert Adams, and at the Art Students' League during spare moments.

His ambitions were gratified when, in 1905, with his friend Leon Guipon, a prominent illustrator, he took a trip to Brittany to paint and draw the picturesque coastal towns. They captured his interest to such a degree that, besides obtaining rich material for a number of paintings, he became an authority on the dress and habits of the people. A number of these subjects found their way to watercolors that received considerable recognition in the exhibitions of the American Watercolor Society.

At the age of eighty Mr. Merrill took up his engraving tools again to cut some blocks from his pencil sketches and watercolor drawings. In them he proved that he was a real son of New England, for his sympathies were mostly for the Vermont scene, depicting the rugged dignity of the hills, farms, and villages. He captured the character of the rolling country silhouetted against broad expanses of calm skies, newly-mown fields, ploughed earth and woods, as well as of the typical barns, old dwellings, and the country store. In fact, he seemed to have realized his own individuality and the creative possibilities of his latent talent.

All who cherish American wood-engraving will be interested to learn that Mr. Merrill's generosity will continue, for he chose the Boston Public Library as the place to leave the residue of his estate — a very considerable sum — for the furtherance of the Print Department, to keep it abreast of present and future developments in its field. He was particularly interested in the young men of promise, and fortunately lived long enough to see his predictions come true. Students, artists, and collectors mourn his passing.





*"Bailey's Barn," an Engraving by H. C. Merrill (Reduced)*





## Notes on Rare Books

### "The Port of Boston"

I N December 1955 the Boston Public Library took part in the "Salute to Rome Week" held in Boston; and, when in the summer of 1957 there was a return "Salute from Rome to Boston," it was invited to participate in arranging an exhibit of watercolors, lithographs, and engravings of old Boston and of silverware made by Paul Revere and other Boston artists that was shown at the Palazzo Braschi in Rome.

Among the objects lent by the Library was a colored engraving entitled "L'Entrée au Port de Boston dans l'Amérique, Gravée d'après le Tableau de Vernet." A visitor to the exhibit, Signor Alessandro Jordanov, was delighted to recognize in the picture the original of a tempera painting which had been in his family for many years; and, as a token of Italo-American friendship, he presented the painting to Mr. Milton E. Lord, Director and Librarian of the Boston Public Library, and a member of the Boston delegation, who accepted it on behalf of the Library.

The engraving was purchased by the Library in 1894, and was cataloged as the work of Claude Joseph Vernet (1714-89), the French marine painter. The catalog of the Italian exhibit dated the painting which served as the original for the engraving as "c. 1750," yet attributed it, curiously, to Joseph Vernet's grandson Horace, who was born only in 1789. Joseph Vernet was an artist of great popularity who never lacked for wealthy patrons. He executed pictures for nobles of France, Italy, England, Spain, and Russia. Louis XV commissioned him to do a great series of the "Sea-Ports of France," fifteen of which were completed. He passed his early years in Italy, where he married Virginia Parker, daughter of an English or Irish Catholic refugee serving as captain in the Pope's navy. In 1753 he returned to France.

The Library's engraving is oval-shaped. It shows to the left a scrub-pine growing from rocks, a fishing vessel in the middle distance, and then the open sea. To the right is a mountain with a round fortress and mole at its base, and people on the rocky shore watching some tiny fishing craft. Half way up the mountain are a number of buildings and trees. In the foreground a red-coated British officer on horseback talks to a soldier with a drum on his back, while two sailors in a rowboat are preparing to take a load

of casks over to the fortress. In the far distance are two smaller hills.

In trying to identify the painting from which the engraving was made, it becomes evident that the engraver has taken liberties with his original. The definitive, two-volume catalog of Joseph Vernet's works by Florence Ingersoll-Smouse (Paris, 1926) lists 2,160 items, nearly all of harbors and seascapes, yet nowhere is there a "Port of Boston." On the other hand, there are many similar scenes — a ship and the open sea to one side, a few buildings or a fort to the other, with fishermen, sailors, and "Turkish merchants" in the foreground. A close relationship to the Library's engraving may be seen in No. 76, "La Mer Calme," painted about 1742-4, and known only from the engraving by Peter Benazech. Here is the same fishing vessel with its twin sails. No. 450, "Vieux Fort d'Italie," also bears a resemblance, especially in the round fort. But closest of all is No. 650, "Marine Retour de la Pêche," painted about 1755-60. The right-hand side is an exact duplicate of the major portion of the Boston engraving: it contains the round fortress surmounted by a flag, the buildings on the hill beyond, the people near the rocks, the small boats in the harbor, and the rowboat with the two fishermen in the foreground!

This evidence shows what probably happened. In the second half of the eighteenth century America excited the interest of Europeans, especially of artists, writers, politicians, and adventurers. Many visited here, others would have liked to. Books about the country were popular, and so were woodcuts and engravings of American scenes. It did not matter really whether the illustration was correct or not; one series, engraved at Augsburg by Francis Xavier Habermann about the time of the American Revolution, depicted the streets of Boston lined with buildings in the style of architecture then in vogue in European cities but bearing no relation to reality. In the same way, the maker of the engraving in the Library composed a picture based on Vernet's works, adding as his own touch the redcoats in the foreground, and giving the finished product its title of "Entry into the Port of Boston." Boston was far more appealing to the public than a simple marine scene or even the most picturesque Italian or French port.

One further point may be noted. In Vernet's painting from which the main portion of the engraving was derived, the landscape in the background seems a low hill, topped by billowy clouds. The engraver reproduced these faithfully, yet tinted the lower layers with a brownish color to give the effect of a lofty hill — the "trimount," which was probably the outstanding feature of Boston

known to the average European.

According to a note by Signor Jordanov, the tempera painting presented by him to the Boston Public Library was made by his Russian great-great-grandfather, Pietro Osnobichine, one of a series of designs done in 1793. This period, the reign of Catherine the Great, was one of wide foreign influence at the Russian court and among the nobility, and one need not wonder at the appearance there of art works originating in Western Europe. Many of Joseph Vernet's own paintings, now in such famous Russian collections as those of Prince Youssupoff and the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad, may have been acquired at that time. Osnobichine must have worked from a copy of the engraving; but he simplified the composition by omitting the two soldiers. He clearly delineated the "trimount" of the background, making it appear as a snow-capped mountain! His coloring is in delicate blues and greys, with a touch of brown on the rocks, the whole effect having an almost oriental air. The picture, measuring 8 by 6½ inches, is mounted on a piece of paper with the inscription by hand "Engraving of the Port of Boston in America."

This Russian copy of an engraving of a French painting purporting to depict the Port of Boston is an enduring and charming memorial of the "Salute from Rome to Boston."

ELLEN M. OLDHAM

## The Author and the Illustrator

THE function and importance of book illustration has perhaps never been generally and fully realized. Besides the fine record of the illustrated book, there is also the memory of books that had better been left alone by the illustrator, whether he was a capable artist or not. If the attitude of the artist before his task is wrong, no amount of talent will help. We are not to be put off with pretty drawings, even fine ones, if there is no genuine coöperation with the author. With the artist of limited competence, we need not deal here. Look today for him — or her — in some of the children's books, for instance, so apt to be the result of sentimental notions as to what is best for the youngsters and what will most please them. Or see the advertisements of men's clothes with their dull sameness, missing the diversity in human types.

If the illustrator does not practice teamwork, projecting him-



self seriously into the spirit and intent of the author, his drawings might just as well be left out. There have been those who asserted that the artist's work was the principal element in the production of the book. This upsets the relation between author and illustrator. The illustrator's business is to accompany the text with pictures which illuminate and stimulate, bringing the author's characters, scenes and situations into pictorial form. His ability to do that is the test of his fitness for the task. It should not limit the artist to take his personality out of his drawings. It did not limit Holbein, Menzel, Darley, LaFarge, Howard Pyle, W. T. Smedley, A. I. Keller, Stone, Barnard, A. B. Frost. What a wealth of difference in style, in the manner of adaptation to the author's aim, do these names represent! It means moving freely within bounds, as in any activity, and exercising the "delicate art of thinking," as was said of LaFarge.

The illustrator may also be a book designer, bringing his drawings into relation with the printed page, as W. A. Dwiggins, Rockwell Kent, and T. M. Cleland, among Americans, have done. That can have excellent results, but the idea can also be overworked to a predominance which interferes with the principal purpose of the illustrator's art, standing between author and artist. But, at all events, the illustrator should have a knowledge of the make-up of the book in which his drawings are to appear.

Choice of the wrong illustrator is not uncommon, even for books of well-planned series. An artist's success in one field does not necessarily insure success in another. Take just one example. The late Reginald Marsh, keen observer of the passing scene, was set at illustrating James Fenimore Cooper. He did it with a careless sketchiness that added nothing; it would have been much better to use the old Darley plates for the new edition. The illustrator's inattention to the text was complained of by Anthony Trollope. For good reason; consider what Phiz did to him. By way of contrast, there's F. Hopkinson Smith's enthusiastic approval of the manner in which the characters in his *Peter* were understood and pictured by A. I. Keller.

Illustration should not be treated as something to be tossed off to turn an honest penny on the side. Perhaps one should not mention honesty when illustration is approached in that way. Illustration is a serious business to be approached in a serious spirit. This is so even if there is to be a humorous touch, as in the old volumes of the London *Punch* with the drawings of Charles Keene or the late George Belcher.

Illustration has two basic relations: to the author's text, and to the book as a physical unit. This covers the nature and province of the art. The illustrator, entering understandingly into the implied conditions, in harmony with the text and its presentation in typographical form, has nevertheless the freedom of interpretative expression.

FRANK WEITENKAMPF

# Trustees of the Library

ERWIN D. CANHAM, *President*

SIDNEY R. RABB, *Vice-President*

FRANK W. BUXTON

PATRICK F. McDONALD

RIGHT REVEREND EDWARD G. MURRAY

## Director, and Librarian

MILTON E. LORD

## Contributors to this Issue

The article "Meat out of the Eater" is part of a chapter from Mr. Richard Crowder's recently compiled book *No Featherbed to Heaven: A Biography of Michael Wigglesworth, 1631-1705*. Mr. Crowder is Professor of English at Purdue University.

FRANK WEITENKAMPF, formerly Curator of Prints at the New York Public Library, is author of *American Graphic Art* and *The Illustrated Book*.

ARTHUR W. HEINTZELMAN is Keeper of Prints at the Boston Public Library.

EDITH A. WRIGHT is Editorial Assistant, and ELLEN M. OLDHAM is Reference Librarian of the Rare Book Department of the Boston Public Library.















BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 9999 07960 731 1

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY

BATES HALL

NOT TO BE TAKEN AWAY

Form No. 12 4-1-18-AM